$1.95

DECEMBER 18, 1987

Maggie Gallagher
JUDGE KENNEDY

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE OLD LEFT HOOK...

WHOMP

MG0770202703 0378724 P 052 I

MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

GEORGE WILL

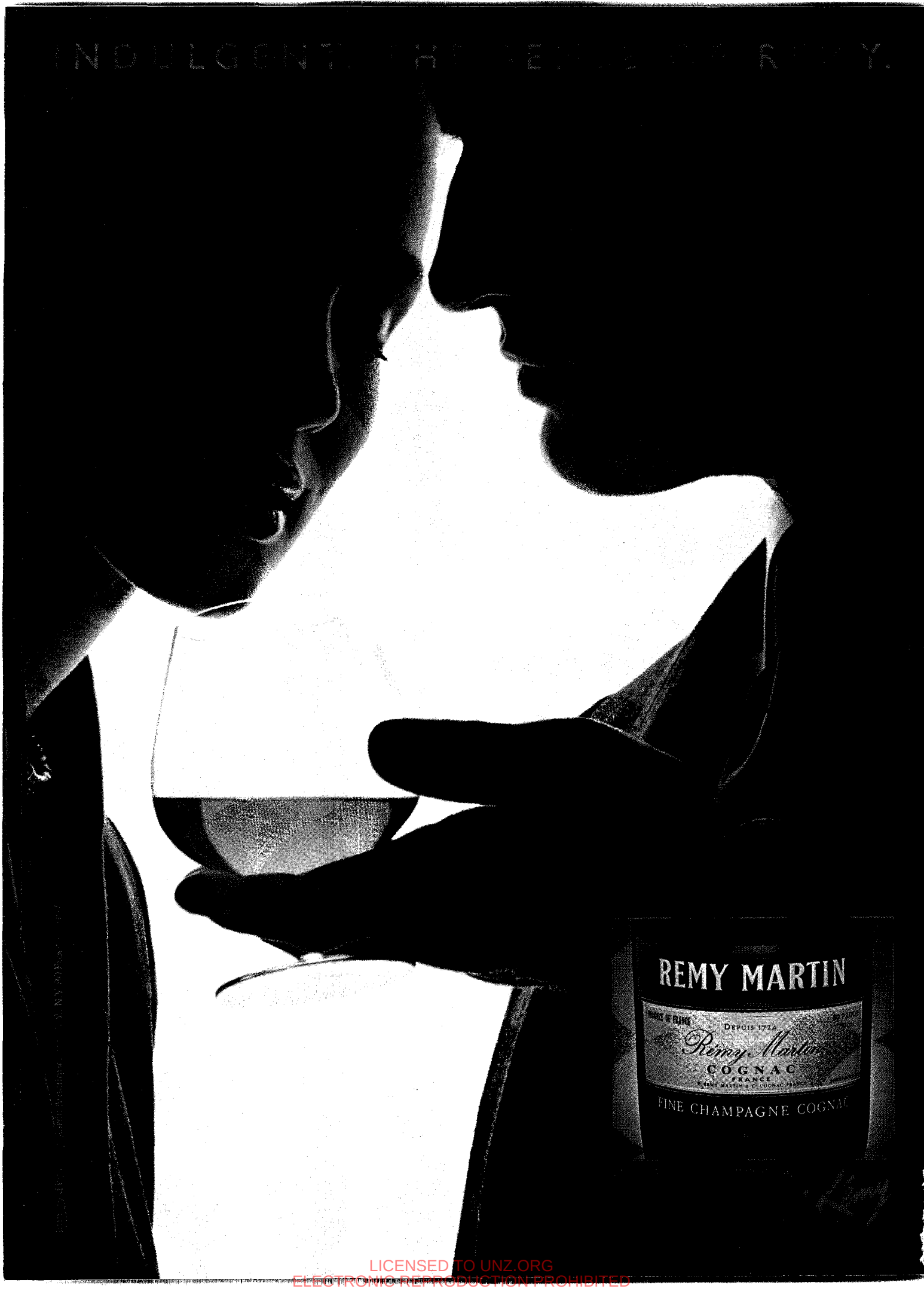
DEMOCRATS SUCKER-PUNCH UNCLE SAM
BUT... CAN THEY WIN?!!!!

0 51
73361 64544

Richard Vigilante on Tom Wolfe

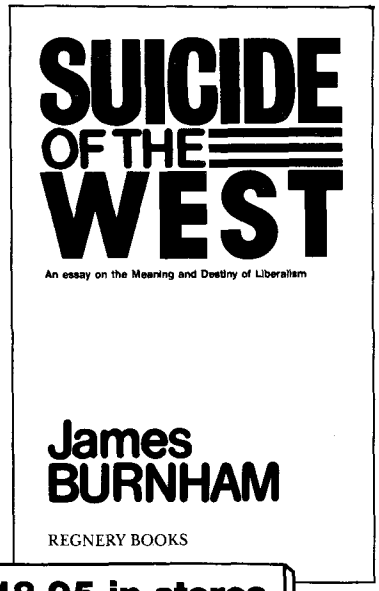
• WM. F. BUCKLEY JR. AT PITCAIRN ISLAND •

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you wonder why Congress caves in to the Communists, read this book



$18.95 in stores — yours FREE!

This is the book that dissects liberalism deep down to its rotten core . . . as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of selfrighteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms the mind and psychology of the liberal. A hint of the riches:

- Why the liberal cannot rule.
- Why liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- Why liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The common ancestors of liberalism and Communism.
- Why liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion — and why liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- The inner drives that impel liberals to war on the Right — while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing text that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

If you haven't yet immersed yourself in this classic, prepare for one of the mind-opening experiences of your life.

Important for Christians and Jews

Why do so many religious people follow the siren song of liberalism? James Burnham throws light on corners once dark.

Enthusiasm for this classic, all across the spectrum

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes."—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case . . . I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument." —Russell Kirk

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs — with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West."...—William F. Buckley, Jr.

How to get this mind-opening book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, James Burnham's seminal study of the liberal mind, the $18.95 *Suicide of the West*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon. **NR-136**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DECEMBER 18, 1987
VOL. XXXIX, NO. 24

NATIONAL REVIEW

WILL 28

CHAREN 36

VIGILANTE 46

MYSAK 49

THE COVER

28 Why the Democrats Lose Elections
The Democrats, mired in leftist muck, appear unable to nominate a presidential candidate who can win. But Republicans beware: the Democrats have learned some new lines.
George F. Will

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

24 His Darkest Hour?
What can Reagan do to pull out of his doldrums? Well, for starters he can submit a balanced budget in 1988. *John McLaughlin*

26 The Moscow/Peking Dilemma
In Moscow and Peking, the new regimes remain committed to old-fashioned Communism. *Brian Crozier*

33 Here Comes the Judge
After two defeats, Reagan comes up with a winner for the Supreme Court.
Maggie Gallagher

36 The Petty Inquisitors
Democrats say that only the executive branch abuses power, but the ordeal of Faith Ryan Whittlesey suggests otherwise. *Mona Charen*

38 A New Statute of Liberty
America needs a real immigration policy, not just a family-reunification program masquerading as one. *Tom Bethell*

45 The War against Reason
Bioethicists come up with ever more sophisticated rationales for turning the unthinkable into the routine.
Richard John Neuhaus

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

46 In *The Bonfire of the Vanities,* **Richard Vigilante** discovers that Tom Wolfe has a mission—saving the American novel. . . . William Safire's *Freedom* succeeds as historical journalism, says **Joe Mysak**, but it fails as fiction. . . . The Department of Education has told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in *AIDS and the Education of Our Children.* **Wayne Lutton** has the facts. . . . In *The Pride and the Fall: The Dream and Illusion of Britain as a Great Nation*, Correlli Barnett blames England's twentieth-century decline on nineteenth-century classical liberalism. Jolly good show, says **William R. Hawkins**. . . . **James Gardner** regrets that the scholarly air of Robin Lane Fox's *Pagans and Christians* belies its sexy title. . . . **Joseph Sobran** applauds Nicholas Davidson for his sensible critique, *The Failure of Feminism*, and yearns for the days and ways of *Vive la différence!* . . . Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* is just another pretty face, harrumphs **John Simon**.

6 LETTERS
11 FOR THE RECORD
12 THE WEEK
34 help!
44 ABROAD
56 THE RIGHT BOOKS
62 ON THE RIGHT
66 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by Charles Bork
Cover art by Kenneth Marlow

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1987. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

RATES: $36.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What motivates our policy makers and causes their policies to fail?

Thomas Sowell, acclaimed as one of America's leading social thinkers, is at his best as he tackles the most controversial issues of the decade in this collection of his nationally syndicated columns and challenging essays, ***Compassion Versus Guilt.*** *He examines the motivations of our nation's "deep thinkers" as they manipulate public opinion and influence policy decisions and explores the reasons why the "imposed solutions" are usually worse than the problems they are designed to solve.*

"The political clashes of the 1980s have gone deeper than usual, emotionally as well as intellectually, and ultimately involve differences in our whole vision of man."

- How does confusing guilt with compassion defeat the intentions of social policy?
- Do minimum wage laws improve the quality of life for the employed or increase unemployment?
- Is disinvestment in South Africa dismantling Apartheid or reducing job opportunities for blacks?
- How does drug prohibition create additional problems for the individual user and society as a whole?
- Are the "humanitarian activities" of the United Nations promoting peace—or war?
- Do government subsidies increase the cost of education?

Don't miss this comprehensive selection of Sowell's provocative commentaries, published together for the first time.

ONLY $14.95
Order #TS4697

NEW

Compassion Versus Guilt and Other Essays

Thomas Sowell
Author of *A Conflict of Visions*

"Thomas Sowell exhibits a trait that only a handful of thinkers possess: theoretical creativity. He is able to look at the same facts as others, yet conceive webs of explanation that are much more subtle, sophisticated and accurate than those of his lessers."
The Wall Street Journal

"Thomas Sowell is saying things that need to be said...his fundamental points reveal themselves to be home truths: the ends do not justify the means; society does not owe anybody a living; there is no free lunch; the present is not guilty of the sins of the past."
The Washington Post

★ ORDER ★
TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext. 500

Charge your Visa or MasterCard
Continental U.S.
★ 24 hours a day ★
7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Order
COMPASSION VERSUS GUILT today!
Please send me these Thomas Sowell titles:

Qty		Total
____	COMPASSION VERSUS GUILT, TS4697 (hardcover) $14.95	____
____	A CONFLICT OF VISIONS, TS4492 (hardcover) $15.95	____
____	MARXISM, TS4120 (paper) $6.95	____
____	ETHNIC AMERICA TS0027 (paper) $9.95	____
____	CIVIL RIGHTS: Rhetoric or Reality, TS8337 (paper) $5.95	____
____	EDUCATION: Assumptions vs. History, TS0542 (paper) $8.95	____
____	THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF RACE, TS0406 (paper) $6.95	____
	Postage & Handling: $2.50 U.S. mail or $3.50 UPS	____
	N.Y. State residents add sales tax	____
	TOTAL	$____

Send your order to: LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept. NCVR, 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.
☐ My check or money order is enclosed for
$_____.
☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City _____ State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran / Chilton Williamson Jr.

Richard Brookhiser *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Executive Editor*
Maggie Gallagher *Article Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Nika Hazelton
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Mark Q. Cunningham / Peter J. Garvey
David Klinghoffer / Jane Buckley Smith

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Patricia L. Sarch *Art Associate*
Lacey Washington *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Fulfillment Manager
Jason Ng

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brooks
David Brudnoy / Christopher Buckley
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Jeffrey Meyers
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Rees III / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard Carpenter *Athens*

LETTERS

Off the Dole

Richard Brookhiser's analysis of Robert Dole ["Why Dole Can't Do It," Dec. 4] was a real treat—a remarkable series of insights into the character of the Senate minority leader.

However, while I appreciate Brookhiser's flawless reasoning about why Dole can't be a hit with GOP primary voters, I think he should have made it clear that the same characteristic that prevents Dole's success—a desire to make deals rather than to defend values—also means he *shouldn't* succeed. Dole talks of the need for a leader to make "tough and fair decisions," but that is not the essential of leadership.

What is leadership? Not simply the ability to make hard choices, but the ability to transform the environment so that at least one of your choices is good—to make the *other* guy make the hard choices. A leader communicates a fresh vision, determined to overcome the detritus of rationalization, muddy thought, and entrenched interests that poisons the polity. The Ronald Reagan of 1980 was great because he did not simply offer a change in policy, he changed the way the electorate and his friends and foes approached the issues, the country, themselves. By challenging the reigning wisdom, Reagan forged a new consensus—that's why his coattails were so long in 1980. His solid sense of what ought to be gave him a Congress he *could* deal with.

Dole's issues, and his approach, are dead and unchallenging. "Dealing with the deficit" won't break us through into the new era we glimpsed in 1981. Dole is his own man, but he has no stature. A Dole campaign would replay the 1984 campaign—stressing the status quo, or slight variations thereupon, rather than true goals. Congress would become more Democrat-dominated, and Dole would cut deals with it, surrender to the wrong vision. He must be stopped.

Kamal Ahmed
Worthington, Minn.

Stalin's Heritage

I suspected much of what Mikhail Bernstam ["The Collapse of the Soviet Welfare State," Nov. 6] revealed about the sad state of the Russian people, but this was the first time I've seen it documented. Of course, horror stories out of the Soviet Union are nothing new. Not long ago some of my fellow geologists made a trip to the gold fields of Siberia, where many Ukrainians ended up during Stalin's purges. A geologist who was on the trip told me that some of the miners' corpses from the Thirties are still there, on and in the ice where they were dumped as they died. He said they are well preserved, their features recognizable even after fifty years.

Toby Elster
Wichita, Kan.

Psyched Out

I was both delighted and chagrined by David Brooks's description of the symposium on U.S.-Soviet relations sponsored by the C. G. Jung Foundation of New York ["Good Vibrations: The New Peace Offensive," Nov. 6]—chagrined because I am a card-carrying Jungian analyst myself, and a member of the Foundation.

The one direct quote from a Jungian speaker cited deserves more analysis than Brooks affords it: "In psychoevolutionary terms, pseudospeciation leads to non-pathological paranoia." The statement is more profound than Brooks's translation of it as "Different groups just don't get along." It means, "*Seemingly* different groups that are, in fact, the same don't get along, and they don't because of the misperception that they are different." Further, whenever this happens—whenever a Westerner accuses the Soviets of imperialism, aggression, or atrocity more extreme than that to which the Westerner will confess—it generates and reinforces collective paranoia, the social analogue of pathological paranoia in the individual.

The speaker is somewhat weary from the effort of educating brutes, and vents his frustration by abusing the language. But we recognize nonetheless a lofty impartiality: if only we can see our paranoia for what it is, and thus correct our distorted perception of, for example, the Gulag, we would see that all the peoples of the world are equally civilized, anti-colonial, and peace-loving, only the Soviets more so.

In other words, all are (is) one. Not to see this is to be mad, and to be mad is to be incapable of sharing the experience of Earthgrief, or Kremlincry, or a lot of other important feeling-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discover Our Heritage of Liberty

QUANTITY

#2008

COMMON SENSE, THE RIGHTS OF MAN, AND OTHER ESSENTIAL WRITINGS
by Thomas Paine
The powerful writings on human liberty that sparked revolutions in America and countries around the world.
#2008 288 pages, paperback, **$8.95**

#2011

AMERICAN POLITICAL WRITINGS DURING THE FOUNDING ERA
(2 vol), *ed. by Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz*
A seminal selection of the highest intellectual quality, containing seventy-six pieces which shaped the founding of America.
#2011 417 pages, hardcover, **$29.95**

#2004

THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
by Bernard Bailyn, Ph.D.
Unquestionably the finest book on the ideas of liberty that generated the American Revolutionary War. *Pulitzer Prize*
#2004 335 pages, paperback, **$8.95**

#1011

ETHNIC AMERICA
by Thomas Sowell, Ph.D.
A stimulating history of nine of America's largest ethnic groups, this powerful book questions the merits of government racial policies and shows that *"there is no single majority but rather a complex mosaic."*
#1011 353 pages, paperback, **$9.95**

#2016 #2042

THE FEDERALIST PAPERS
by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay
These famous articles, written during the bitter debate over the Constitution, formed the basis for our resulting federal system of government.
#2016 150 min., set of 2 cass., **$17.95**
#2042 510 pages, paperback, **$7.95**

#2012

COMMON SENSE
***by Thomas Paine* and**
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
by Thomas Jefferson
#2012 150 min., 2 cassettes, **$17.95**

SM

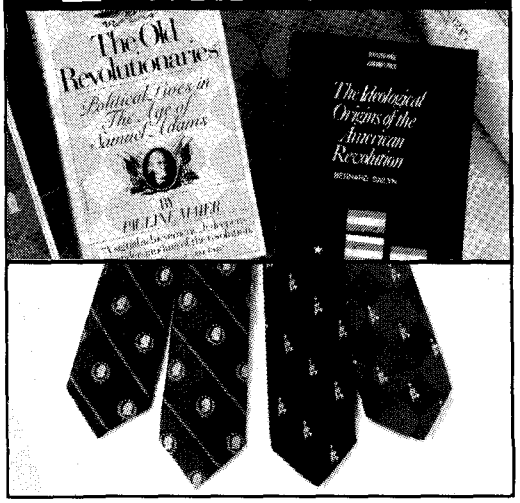
ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-345-2888

Credit card orders only. Call anytime

Ask for a LibertyTree operator.

KEY TO PRODUCTS

COLLECTIBLE · BOOK · GAME · VIDEO TAPE · AUDIO TAPE


The Old Revolutionaries
Political Lives in the Age of Samuel Adams
PAULINE MAIER
The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution

QUANTITY

#1099

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, BILL OF RIGHTS, AND OTHER AMENDMENTS
nar. by Walter Cronkite
Especially produced for the Bicentennial, here is the authoritative and fascinating story of our Constitution. *Absolutely excellent!*
#1099 10 hrs., 8 cass., **$69.95**

#2010

THEY PREACHED LIBERTY
ed. by Franklin P. Cole
The New England ministers are the forgotten heroes of the American Revolution. This important book assembles their writings and activities during the Revolution.
#2010 178 pages, hardcover, **$12.95**

QUANTITY

#2025 #2026 #2036

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS
(2 vol), *by Adam Smith*
Perhaps the most influential economics work of all time, *The Wealth of Nations* is an extensive study of economic laws and the harmful effects of government encroachments into free markets.
#2025 1080 pp., paperback, **$14.95**
#2026 5 hours 4 cassettes, **$39.95**
#2036 28 min., VHS/guide, **$79.95**

#2002

THE OLD REVOLUTIONARIES
by Pauline Maier
Here is the breath-taking story of SAMUEL ADAMS, RICHARD HENRY LEE, and others who actually made the American Revolution. *"Maier makes her subjects live!" —NEW YORKER*
#2002 309 pages, hardcover, **$15.95**

#1041 #1042 #2034 #2035

LIBERTYTREE NECKTIES
Handsome, all silk—a must for any wardrobe and the perfect gift! (Boxed)
The Statue of Liberty
#1041 Navy with Gold **$24.95**
#1042 Maroon with Gold **$24.95**
The Thomas Jefferson
#2034 Navy with Silver **$24.95**
#2035 Maroon with Silver **$24.95**

#2015

NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution
by Forrest McDonald, Ph.D.
The outstanding, Pulitzer Prize finalist on the men and ideas behind the Constitution. *"Bristles with wit and intellectual energy." —CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*
#2015 359 pages, paperback, **$12.95**

#2006

THE LIFE AND SELECTED WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON
ed. by Adrienne Koch and William Peden
This powerful biography and collection of JEFFERSON's writings reveals the basis of his enormous influence as a leader of the American Revolution.
#2006 756 pages, hardcover, **$14.95**

LibertyTree Network

☐ Please rush me your free catalog of books, audio tapes, video tapes, games, and collectibles.

Method of Payment (Add $2.50 U.S. Mail/$4.00 UPS shipping):
(Calif. residents please add appropriate sales tax: 6-7½%)

☐ Check Enclosed ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Am. Express

Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____

MAIL TO: LibertyTree Network 6600 Silacci Way, Dept. D13, Gilroy, CA 95020

FREE WITH $25 MIN. ORDER
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE & U.S. CONSTITUTION
Special Georgetown U. Bound Edition

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John McLaughlin fuels the fire while respected journalists Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke, and Robert Novak provide informative and often explosive opinions.

Join them all on the McLaughlin Group. It just might be the freshest, boldest, most incisive political show on the air.

Don't miss it. The people who run this country never do.

The McLaughlin Group
Made possible by a grant from GE.

Check local listings for station and time.

We bring good things to life.

"A chilling account of Stalin's regime cold bloodedly killing 20 million of its own subjects."

—Washington Post Book World

430 pp. paper $9.95

At better bookstores or directly from
OXFORD PAPERBACKS
Oxford University Press
200 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

"A comprehensive record of what may stand as the crime of the century." ***—Chicago Tribune***

"The first major scholarly book on the horrors [of Soviet collectivization].... Conquest has succeeded in restoring [the peasants'] human faces." ***—Time***

"Powerful and well-documented." ***—The New Republic***

"Carefully researched and superbly written." ***—Los Angeles Times Book Review***

"Likely to become a classic." ***—The Wall Street Journal***

thoughts cruelly kept divided by two millennia of Western non-holistic primitive crypto-consciousness.

Jung must have had Earthgrief in mind when he wrote: "I have found that modern man has an eradicable aversion for traditional opinions and inherited truths. He is a Bolshevist for whom all the spiritual standards and forms of the past have somehow lost their validity, and who therefore wants to experiment with his mind as the Bolshevist experiments with economics."

I console myself by staunchly supporting *NR* and by recalling another of Jung's comments: "Thank God I'm Jung and not a Jungian."

Jeffrey Burke Satinover, MD
Stamford, Conn.

Crocked

I am shocked that H. W. Crocker III wishes that "we had more European leaders like [Anthony Eden] today" ["Books, Arts, & Manners," Oct. 23]. Certainly none of the survivors of "Operation Keelhaul" would consider Eden an honorable man for his murderous complicity in the forced repatriation—direct to the Gulag—of millions of Cossacks, Russians, and Ukrainians after World War II.

The spirit of Anthony Eden is alive in our own leaders today, as they ignore the Soviet defectors in Afghanistan and even return defectors who have made it to American soil, such as the Ukrainian sailor Miroslav Medvid.

Jerry Sawka
Warren, Mich.

Sounds Furious

It's hard to give much credence to Chilton Williamson Jr.'s October 23 review of Stephen B. Oates's biography of Faulkner when Williamson puts Joe Christmas in *Absalom, Absalom!* instead of in *Light in August*, where Faulkner put him.

Mary Hiles
Oshkosh, Wis.

Baum Bombs

Sweat thee not, Linda Bridges. Mr. Baum ["Letters," Oct. 23] credits Kipling with the famous lines, "It hain't the 'eavy 'auling . . ." In fact, R. S. Surtees put these lines into the mouth of his famous Mr. Jorrocks.

Now, Mr. Michael H. Baum of Homewood, Ill., please write fifty times, "I will never misquote Kipling again."

Sometimes it pays to have a wife who is English and is devoted to 'orses.

J. B. Owen Jr.
Calhoun, Tenn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

R. GLENN MARTIN

Conservatism – with no ads!

Steady readers of this section may perhaps be as fascinated as I am by a new publication that contains nothing but editorial columns and political cartoons.

I chanced on it in an attempt to locate some columns by Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. When she left the U.N., Kirkpatrick began a weekly political column, and I hadn't yet found out where it was appearing.

Then I saw an ad for something called the *Conservative Chronicle,* published in Iowa, which said it reproduces her columns. I sent off for a subscription and got back a 32-page weekly tabloid containing not just Kirkpatrick but a galaxy of conservative U.S. columnists and cartoonists.

There, unabridged, I found recent syndicated columns by Evans & Novak, Bill Buckley, George Will, Joe Sobran, William Rusher, Dorothy Rabinowitz, Warren Brookes, Walter Williams, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Dartmouth's Jeffrey Hart, Admirals Zumwalt and Bagley, and many others — 41 columns in all — by the elite of American conservative columnists.

There were also 36 political cartoons by the likes of the *Chicago Tribune's* Jeff MacNelly and Dick Locher, Jerry Barnett of the *Indianapolis News*, the *Denver Post's* Mike Keefe — two dozen in all.

Refreshingly, there are no ads at all in this free-enterprise compilation, except one by the magazine itself.

The publisher, Hampton Publishing Company, (Box 29, Hampton, Iowa 50441) has been in business 111 years, and the U.S. subscription rate is $32 for 52 issues.

Such a publication, like *World Press Review,* pulls together material from many sources that no one individual could possibly lay her (or his) hands on…

Reprinted by permission of the *EDMONTON SUN*

Thank You,
R. GLEN MARTIN
— An independent columnist writing for the
EDMONTON SUN

WE COULDN'T HAVE SAID IT BETTER OURSELVES

Call Toll Free or Return Coupon
1-800-558-1244
(In Iowa call collect 515-456-2585)

Published by Chronicle Publications, a 110 year old independent newspaper company

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
Box 29 Hampton, Iowa 50441

YES CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE,
Box 29
Hampton, Iowa 50441

I accept your subscription offer of 1 YEAR (52 issues) for $32 (Add $20 for foreign postage) I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.

Payment Method
☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Visa ☐ M.C. ☐ AX ☐ Bill Me

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

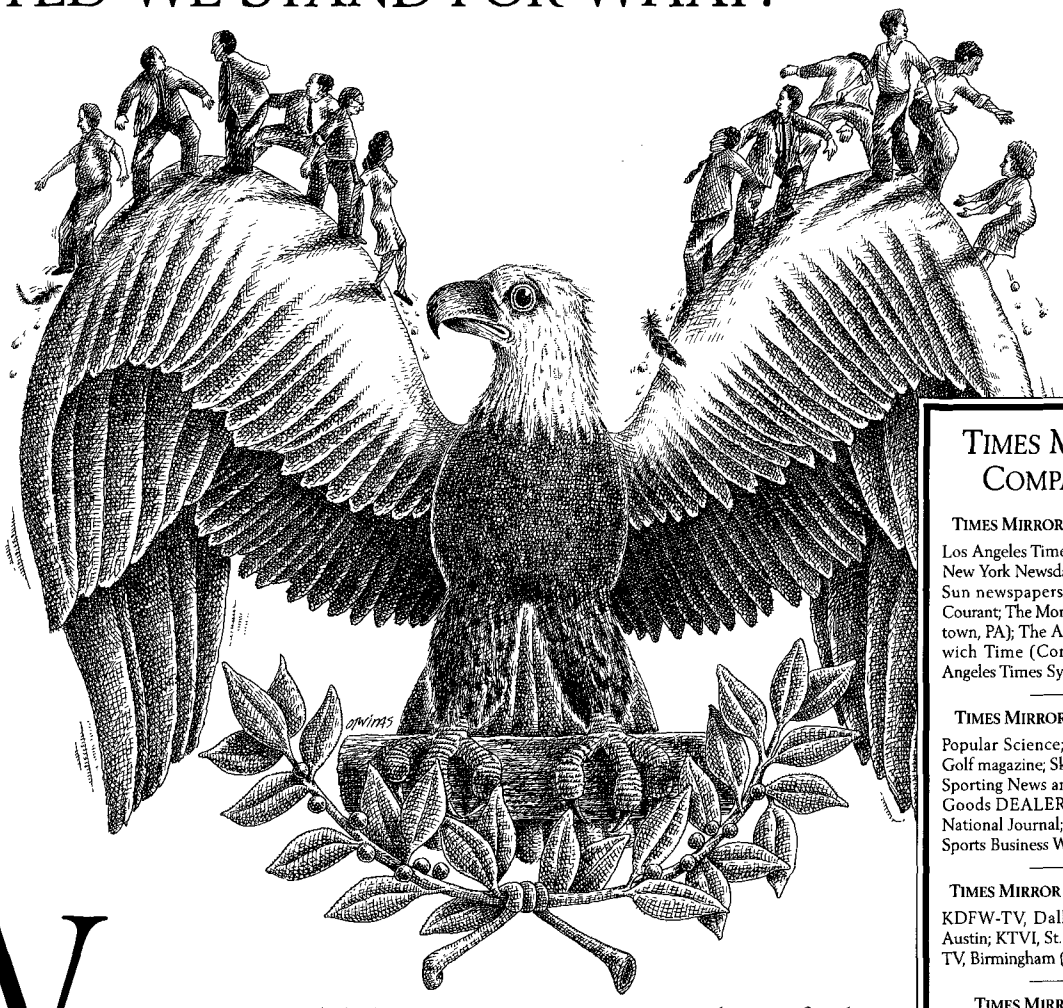
Name _____

Address _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The People, the Press & Politics

UNITED WE STAND FOR WHAT?



What are the values and beliefs that Americans stand for today? We asked Gallup to find out.

Gallup talked to 4,244 people, face-to-face, in interviews that typically lasted 70 minutes, and identified nine values and beliefs that define—and divide—political opinion.

Religious faith. 80% of the American electorate say they're conscious of the presence of God.

Social justice. 62% believe government should guarantee every citizen food and shelter.

Militant anti-communism. 56% believe communists are responsible for a lot of the unrest in the U.S. today; 54% think the best way to ensure peace is through military strength.

American exceptionalism. 68% think the U.S. has a boundless ability to solve its problems.

Alienation. 52% say they have no say about what government does; 73% say elected officials in Washington quickly lose touch with the people.

Financial pressure. 43% say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet.

Attitudes toward government. 63% think government is inefficient and wasteful.

Attitudes toward "big business." 77% think too much power is concentrated in too few large corporations.

Tolerance/intolerance. 48% think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other; 50% say books containing dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries.

A COPY OF OUR STUDY IS YOURS FOR THE ASKING.

It not only identifies what Americans stand for, it also defines the 11 sub-groups that really make up the political spectrum and the attitudes that underlie our political language.

It will help us to report on politics with greater clarity, and it could prompt you to see the political process in a new light.

If you'd like a copy, write our chairman, Robert F. Erburu, Times Mirror, Times Mirror Square, Suite 100, Los Angeles, CA 90053. Or call (213) 237-3946.

And then let us know what you think.

TIMES MIRROR COMPANIES

TIMES MIRROR NEWSPAPERS:

Los Angeles Times; Newsday and New York Newsday; the Baltimore Sun newspapers; The Hartford Courant; The Morning Call (Allentown, PA); The Advocate, Greenwich Time (Connecticut); Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

TIMES MIRROR MAGAZINES:

Popular Science; Outdoor Life; Golf magazine; Ski magazine; The Sporting News and The Sporting Goods DEALER; Broadcasting; National Journal; Sports inc. The Sports Business Weekly.

TIMES MIRROR TV STATIONS:

KDFW-TV, Dallas; KTBC-TV, Austin; KTVI, St. Louis; WVTM-TV, Birmingham (AL).

TIMES MIRROR CABLE:

More than 40 cable TV systems serve 300 communities in 14 states across the nation.

TIMES MIRROR PUBLISHING:

Matthew Bender & Company, law books; The C.V. Mosby Company, medical and college publishers; Year Book Medical Publishers/CRC Press/Wolfe Medical Publishers, medical and scientific publications; Learning International, training programs; Mirror Systems, computer software; Jeppesen Sanderson, flight information and training; Harry N. Abrams, art books; Times Mirror Press, directories and manuals.

OTHER TIMES MIRROR OPERATIONS:

Million Market Newspapers/Times Mirror National Marketing; Times Mirror Land and Timber Company.

Times Mirror

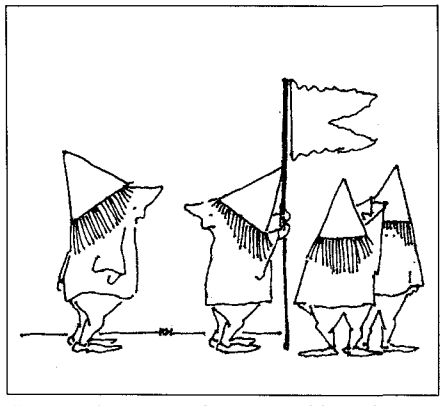
We're interested in what you think.

Percentages include respondents who "completely" and "mostly" agree with given statements.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

The **Cuomo** Non-Caper, cont'd: *Chicago Tribune* poll of five key states (California, Florida, Illinois, Texas, and New York) shows that 55 per cent of Democrats want someone other than six present contenders for President. Same poll shows Cuomo is as popular as **Ronald Reagan** among all voters and ahead of all 12 announced candidates. . . . Five of six Democrats are, understandably, handling situation gingerly. Not so **Jesse Jackson**, who says, "If I get beaten, I want it to be by someone who's on the playing field." . . . Liberal columnists **Richard Cohen**, **Mary McGrory** maddened by what Mrs. McGrory calls Cuomo's "peekaboo" tactics. . . . They also worry the pols. Says **Ann F. Lewis**, former Political Director of Democratic National Committee: "The candidates are like characters in a play where the audience keeps getting diverted by a shadow from offstage." Mrs. Lewis can't remember an election "where so many activists were staying so uncommitted so late into the process." . . . That could change. New York Democratic state chairman **Laurence Kirwan**, a Cuomo man, is said to be passing word to state Democratic leaders that it is OK to "find the candidate you want and back him to the hilt." In case you hadn't noticed, the candidate *du jour* with liberals is **Paul Simon**, now No. 1 in Iowa with 24 per cent, to **Michael Dukakis**'s 18. . . . *Washington Post* did major puff piece on Simon with enigmatic headline: UPRIGHT BUT SHREWD. . . . **Albert Gore**, making pitch for position on right of Democratic field, is tripping over his own congressional record. *Human Events* has dug out the Pork Barrel & Subsidy Index, compiled by Competitive Enterprise Institute, which gives Gore big fat zero, meaning he hasn't voted against a big spending bill in current Congress. . . . Hard-liner **Elliott Abrams** at State derides Gore's wishy-washy Contra support record. Says Abrams: "[Gore is saying,] 'All I want to do is send them bandages and tents.' And that is considered to be a strange, right-wing view in today's Democratic Party."



"Now that you have established your place in the sun, may I respectfully remind you of the hazards of skin cancer?"

Good week for **George Bush**. *Chicago Tribune* poll mentioned above says Bush is second only to Ronald Reagan in popularity among Republicans. . . . In Florida, Bush put damper on surging **Pat Robertson** campaign by winning 57 per cent in straw poll, to Robertson's 37. . . . Latest New Hampshire poll shows Bush leading **Bob Dole** 40 to 27 per cent. . . . The Vice President has now made it unanimous: in letter to columnist **Greg Fossedal** he pledged to deploy SDI if he is elected. The other five Republicans had already done so. . . . Big shakeup of Dole campaign staff by campaign director **Bill Brock** means smaller role for two prominent conservatives, ACU Chairman **Dave Keene** and former Office of Personnel Management chief **Don Devine**.

Interesting developments in New Orleans get-together of Southern black leaders a couple of weeks back. Many black mayors who had withheld their support of Jesse Jackson in '84 endorsed him this time around, but with reservations. Mayor **Harvey Gantt** of Charlotte, N.C., warned black politicians that blacks who want to move into the mainstream of Southern politics must be aware of the interests of white as well as black voters. . . . Said **Joe Reed**, leader of the Alabama Democratic Conference, "There are two things one can say for certain about the outcome of the Democratic convention. . . . One is that the nominee will not be black. And two is that the nominee will be white. We need a spare-tire strategy which indicates our second choice." . . . Commented Dukakis campaign aide **Paul Parks**: "I want to see Jackson go to the convention with a sizable number of delegates, and my strategy is to see that Mike Dukakis is the second choice of those delegates." . . . Moderation is not the watchword of congressional Black Caucus. At recent AFL-CIO convention, Rep. **William Clay** (D., Mo.) accused Reagan Administration of trying to replace "the Bill of Rights with fascist precepts lifted verbatim from *Mein Kampf*."

Glasnost Watch: A Latvian demonstration to celebrate 69th anniversary of Latvia's short-lived independence never took place: thousands of police and "civilian vigilantes" blocked off demonstration area. (On Aug. 11, 1920, *Wall Street Journal* comments, the USSR signed peace treaty with Latvia which "unreservedly" recognized the independence, self-subsistency, and sovereignty of the Latvian state.) . . . Rumanian police broke up demonstration of five thousand workers protesting wage cuts and new austerity program in industrial city of Brazov, the first riot in Rumania in ten years. . . . In Moscow, fifty Soviet Jews were picked up by police as they left their homes to demonstrate in protest against renewed Soviet anti-Semitism. Temporarily held was **Sergei Grigoryants**, publisher of *Glasnost* magazine.

The power of *glasnost*: According to **Gallup**, **Mikhail Gorbachev** ranks right up there in favorability with the U.S. public. He's No. 6 after (in order) **Dan Rather**, **Billy Graham**, **Ted Kennedy**, Ronald Reagan, and Jesse Jackson. With favorability rating of 41 per cent, Gorbachev is just two points ahead of **Richard Nixon**.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ A psychiatrist friend of ours thinks Jim Wright is suffering from a rare disorder: "delusions of megalomania." We asked him to explain. "Well," he said, "in the first place, he thinks he's George Shultz. That's not so bad. What's really serious is that he thinks being Shultz is an improvement."

☐ Stop the presses! The *New York Times* has referred to Mikhail Gorbachev as a "dictator"—as opposed to the usual benign euphemism, "Soviet leader." What does it portend? A genuine thaw at the *Times*? An internal shake-up or power struggle? An abandonment of seventy years of dogma? Or a mere verbal gimmick to make us lower our guard? Can the reformers prevail over the hard-line liberals? We welcome this new signal with cautious optimism.

☐ The stock market began to crumble in mid October, when the only news about the U.S. budget was that it had dropped by a third. All the wise men decided that the budget must be the problem. They might as well have blamed the crash on dirty oceans or a vanishing ozone layer. A month later, the great budget compromise was unveiled with appropriate fanfare, and the markets gave a big yawn. Reasonable people might conclude that the crash never had anything to do with the budget, but reasonable people are scarce in the capital city.

☐ Sad to report that the *Washington Post* has conferred on Surgeon General C. Everett Koop one of the highest awards it can bestow on a conservative: the Surprises-Friend-and-Foe-Alike puff piece. The way you surprise your friends *and* your enemies is by turning against your friends, but naturally the *Post* prefers the gentle, ostensibly evenhanded formulation. So it heralded its flattering profile of Koop in its November 15 Sunday magazine with the observation that he "has confounded conservatives and liberals alike." The subhead on the article itself was a little more candid: "How C. Everett Koop shook up his former allies on the Right and surprised his new friends on the Left."

☐ What has two legs and bushy brows, and is even worse, if possible, than Tip O'Neill? That's Wright. Newt Gingrich calls him "a genuinely corrupt man," and Wright has become notorious for both political power-plays (disrupting the Administration's Central America policy, abusing procedural rules in the House) and his own financial scandals, not to mention his unvarnished nastiness. His personal tastes run to wealth and power, which may explain why he can court both the congressional Bolsheviki and the private-sector tycoons. One of his latest moves has been to ask Donald Trump to host the annual Democratic congressional dinner in March. The event will be held in Washington, and Trump is a registered New York Republican, but on the other hand, Trump is *r-r-r-rich*. One thing nobody accuses Wright of being is enigmatic. Even New York Democrats are embarrassed by his Texan chutzpah.

☐ In the closing days of the 1936 election, Kansans noticed an unusual burst of road work. Why was that? Jim Farley—Postmaster General and director of Roosevelt's campaign—having calculated the margin by which Roosevelt trailed Landon in Kansas, hired that many road workers. Roosevelt carried Kansas. Things probably won't be that bad if the Hatch Act is repealed, but it's a lousy idea nevertheless. The Hatch Act forbids federal employees (with certain exceptions) from fundraising, campaigning, or running in partisan elections. Federal employees, naturally, don't like it, and neither do the Democrats; and which party do you suppose would benefit from its repeal? There is also a principle involved. There is a system that gives federal employees free rein for politicking; that is the spoils system. Under that system, you place your bet and work all out. If your man wins, you

Defense Secrets, Back Then

They've found mosaics showing
  A warship Carthage used
To keep the Romans land-locked
  And Hannibal amused;
But then a purloined copy
  Left Romans overjoyed
And, replicated madly,
  Left Carthage quite destroyed.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No trade-offs on trade

In the weeks since the stock market fell out of bed, economists and other experts have probed and prodded the patient from every conceivable angle to learn the cause of the malaise. Some have cried "Eureka!" and pointed to computerized trading, triple witching hours, puts and calls, and other esoterica familiar to only a relatively few ultrasophisticated investors. Others, whom we heartily endorse, have blamed the nation's horrendous budget deficit, and demanded that it be brought under control once and for all.

But even as the Congress and the Administration negotiate what we hope will be more than a budgetary Band-Aid, we'd like to offer them a reminder. Please, guys, keep your eye on the long-term implications for international trade, and the role of American industry in what's indisputably a worldwide marketplace.

No matter what their shares are selling for, American companies have to compete at home and overseas against companies from the rest of the world. (It was no accident that foreign stock exchanges followed America's on the downhill ride; there really is only one world out there.) If American industry is unable to compete effectively, more than paper losses are at risk. The inability to compete could mean the loss of American jobs, and a lower standard of living for Americans.

Here, then, are some points we feel belong high on the agenda of the planners of America's economic future:

- Eschew the siren song of protectionism. Trying to hunker down behind a wall of tariffs, import fees, and other trade barriers will only bring on retaliation and trade wars. The U.S. tried that path when it enacted the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act shortly after the '29 crash, and worsened the Great Depression that soon followed. Congress, especially, should keep history's lesson in mind as it attempts to finalize a largely protectionist trade bill.
- Don't increase the income tax. American corporations already are paying more under tax reform—and these costs, for the most part, are passed along to consumers. American products are priced higher as a result, and that makes it tougher to compete both at home and abroad.
- Consider the relationship between savings, investment, and productivity. Americans already save far less than the West Germans or the Japanese, to cite just two examples. Out of a nation's savings pool comes the money to modernize plants and equipment, and out of better factories with better tools come better, lower-cost products. That's surely another key to a solid competitive stance.
- If added revenues do have to be raised after budget cuts are achieved, then consider a consumption tax—which we espoused for some time. Such a tax is an incentive to save, and thereby acts as a spur to capital investment and productivity.

Americans until recent times haven't paid as much attention to world trade and worldwide competition as some of the nations whose products have now become ubiquitous in this country as well as overseas. The stock market crash should have awakened us to the need to play catch-up. If it does, and if we tame the deficit at the same time, then even Black Monday, like a cloud of any hue, will have a silver lining.

Mobil®

©1987 Mobil Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

WHAT'S THE IMPACT of the market crash on the Democratic candidates? Here's what we're hearing around the Potomac circuit.

First, let's look at the state of economic affairs when the shock occurred. Are you better off financially now than a year ago? Gallup put this question in September and drew these answers: 43 per cent better and 27 per cent the same, with a meager 29 per cent perceiving themselves as worse off. This contrasts with 33 per cent better, 30 per cent the same, 35 per cent worse off in response to the same question in June of 1981. The same poll also asked just over one thousand adults nationwide: Looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off or worse off than now? The responses were 56 per cent better off, 20 per cent the same, and only 16 per cent worse off.

All of which means that although the stock-market collapse was a shocking event, it fell on a public psyche that is attitudinally resilient and inclined to apportion blame rather equally between Congress, the White House, and the Street. If you narrow the choice of culprit to only the Democrats and the Republicans, the Democrats come off second best even after the October crash. In a much-discussed Peter Hart poll for the *Chicago Tribune* —taken after the stock-market decline and published in the second week of November—36 per cent still said they thought Republicans would do a better job of producing economic prosperity, while only 26 per cent chose the Democrats. Thirty-five per cent said that either party could do "about equally" well.

Democratic presidential candidates gain or lose variously.

Michael Dukakis: Looking good. His free-trade themes have been vindicated, and the economy of the People's Republic of Massachusetts is suddenly a real plus. Dukakis, however, must force himself to understand that people do not want to hear him lamenting how stupid Reaganomics is. They want reassurance that the next President can keep things going strong. If Dukakis can concentrate on a serious presentation, and stifle partisan tendencies, he can score real points with independents and Democrats looking for presidential qualifications.

Albert Gore suffers from the age issue in reverse. Gore looks good, sounds good, talks good, and when he's fully grown he'll be a helluva guy. Thanks principally to the market crisis—not his admitted marijuana adventures—Gore slipped several rungs down the ready-to-lead ladder. "During times of crisis, people want experience," says a GOP consultant. "Fresh faces are fine, provided they are experienced. If a fear psychology takes hold, Gore loses, as do Haig and Robertson."

Paul Simon gains for the same reasons Gore loses, but not significantly. Simon's tendency to preach standard Keynesian economics won't wash in an era far beyond traditional liberal Democratic dogma. He may currently be showing well in Iowa, but the problems he faces on Super Tuesday are insuperable.

Richard Gephardt suffers because his trade policy is now an albatross. Gephardt's narrow protectionism has been shown to be both dangerous and pandering. National economic problems represent a setback for him, especially as the Democratic campaign moves out of the pain belt and into states where the economy has been good. Gephardt's youthful look is probably also a minus, but not as big a one as for Gore.

Jesse Jackson comes out of Black Monday flat: no gain, no loss. Jackson's candidacy is racial, just as Robertson's is religious, and both are essentially sideshows.

Bruce Babbitt has been showing improved life signs recently, but it is too late and too little. He's probably sticking it out for the time being, simply for matching funds.

CONCLUSION: It is very early. Moves to restore world economic confidence require many months to work. If the remedies take hold by August of 1988, that will be time enough to help the GOP. If, conversely, even a mild recession or downturn of indicators occurs, the existing high levels of public confidence would drop, thus damaging the incumbent party—though not necessarily ruinously, given the pallid showing of the Democratic sextet.

So, in and of itself, Black Monday carries no critical weight. What happens next—what is perceived as well as what is—will determine the outcome. This is the first act, not the curtain call. —CATO

---

stay; if he loses, you're fired. It was to correct the abuses of that state of affairs that the Federal Government began, in the late nineteenth century, to insulate its employees from political pressure. But the insulation, to be complete, must also prevent them from exerting pressure. No one is forced to work for the Federal Government; it is appropriate that those who do should forgo certain privileges.

☐ Entirely illustrative of the argument made by Brian Crozier in "Of Fiji, Race, and All That" [*NR*, Dec. 4] is the growing racialization of European politics. The ethnic groups that have long existed in the European countries often strenuously resent the presence of Arabs, Turks, and black Africans who are used as cheap labor. The largest beneficiary of this resentment has been the National Front party in France, which has become a factor in national politics; in Marseilles, it got 25 per cent of the vote in the most recent election. Similar movements exist in West Germany, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland; and Great Britain has long experienced tension and disorder over dark-skinned immigrants from the Commonwealth. Moralists no doubt wish this all away, but it shows no sign of going away.

☐ For years Spain wanted membership in NATO. Silly objections arose for a period because Franco was considered too evil to be our partner by roughly the same people who didn't think Stalin was too evil to be our partner. Then Franco died, and in 1982 Spain was admitted to NATO. Months later, a general elec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion brought in Felipe González, a charismatic socialist, and not long after that there was a plebiscite: Should Spain remain in NATO? González fought for staying in, but filled his campaign with all kinds of hedges, e.g., no aggressive fighter wings, more rent for American military bases, less this, more that. . . . And now, lease-renewal time, he faces his ambiguities. Our position is that there isn't much point in Spain's being a NATO power unless it behaves like a NATO power and makes available to the membership its natural geopolitical advantages. González's answer is: Take my terms, or get out. The temptation is very strong in these situations. (How do you say, Go jump in the lake, in Spanish?) But once again we need to remind ourselves that whatever difficulties we have with the de Gaulles and the Gonzálezes of this world, we wish NATO to survive for our sake, not for the sake of Felipe, who in these matters worries more about the survival of his political fortunes than of his country.

☐ This year's National Book Award surprise seems to have been connected with Nicaragua (as in, Sandinistas). Toni Morrison was supposed to win the fiction award with *Beloved*. To tell the truth, *Beloved* is not much (*pace* Keith Mano in our last issue), but Toni Morrison is not only black but also *a woman*. The amazement and consternation at the Hotel Pierre was palpable when the award went to a novel no one has ever heard of called *Paco's Story*, about Vietnam and, by extension, Nicaragua. The author, Larry Heinemann, made the connection explicit in his rambling remarks. To hear all the moaning and groaning over "Vietnam," a literary idea that has little to do with the war in Southeast Asia, you would think that Gettysburg and Iwo Jima were fun. And, oh yes, the award for non-fiction went to an anti-Bomb tome. Zzzzzzzzzzz.

☐ In the Soviet Union, it is prudent for the present Leader to wait twenty or thirty years before denouncing a previous Leader, just to be sure he's dead, especially Stalin, because if he isn't, you are. Mr. Gorbachev got around to it last month, and actually feigned surprise and a hint of outrage that Stalin knowingly did all that stuff everyone else knew about. Not that Mr. Gorbachev got into the bloody specifics; and he pointedly did not denounce secret-police chiefs Andropov, Beria, and others, who were Stalin's Mengeles. Gorbachev is not more powerful than the KGB.

☐ With the purge of Boris Yeltsin, the handwriting was on the wall. When Gorbachev arrives here he's going to . . . *stay!* Reagan made him an offer he can't refuse: President of the NFL. Raisa is taking a top executive job at Bergdorf Goodman.

☐ Paul Fisher, a member of the anti-Contra Witness for Peace, got picked up by the Contras while he was witnessing. Though illiterate youths under twenty, as he put it, they took him to safety. And though they treated him well, as he put it, he complained of "psychological torment," i.e., not getting enough sleep. "Once they knew I was an American," he said, he did not worry about being shot. Well, there are Americans, and there are people who say things like this in Managua.

☐ UPI reports that Howard Hughes's giant seaplane, the *Spruce Goose*, "may take a trip across the Atlantic to . . . Japan." Let us know how it turns out.

☐ This is not an erratum. Actually, in the overall market dive, Sam Walton lost $2.6 billion. And shrugged.

Kemp in the Blocks

HE HAS ALREADY been running for years now, of course, along with Bush and Dole and Robertson and Haig and du Pont, up New Hampshire hill and down Iowa dale. It has all been, and will still be, for two more months, an epiphenomenal contest, of polls and money and prognostications. Not until New Hampshire's February 16 primary—after Michigan Republicans have attended their state convention, and Iowans have looked in at their caucuses—will any Republican face the concrete test of an actual vote, by actual voters.

Perhaps out of sheer stir-craziness, a lot of the recent debating among Republicans has taken place on Democratic turf. Kemp and du Pont met at a forum of retirees in Des Moines last month, where Pete du Pont, the scourge of Social Security, felt constrained to call it one of the most successful programs in history, which he was only proposing to supplement; while Kemp went whole hog, telling a whooping audience that it was a "sacred trust." Bob Dole, meanwhile, has let it be known that the Republican Party's gut weakness is "sensitivity" (that is, lack of it)

Stature Still Matters

Something there is that doesn't like
  Six candidates whose noses,
When seen among the flora, don't
  Quite reach above the roses.
Imagine greeting Gorbachev
  Among the White House flowers,
Then getting lost between the phlox
  And four o'clocks for *hours*.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—a weakness a Dole Administration would set its face against most sternly. George Bush, not to be outdone, proclaims that he wants to be remembered in history as an "education President."

If this is more than autumn madness, it is a paradoxical result of the successes, real and imagined, of the Reagan years. Ronald Reagan—and the first Republican Senate in a quarter-century—came into office against a backdrop of hostages, stagflation, gas lines, and Russian rambunctiousness from the Mosquito Coast to the Hindu Kush. The changes in that terrain wrought by Reagan have weakened the impulse that swept him to power.

It has been weakened far short of fulfillment. As Ronald Reagan heads down the home stretch, an arrogant Democratic Congress yearns for taxes and protection; freedom fighters struggle vainly in Nicaragua and Angola; hundreds of abortions occur daily; funding cuts loom for SDI; and the Administration is preparing to sign an arms-control agreement every bit as deplorable as SALTs I and II.

On some of these issues—securing an anti-*Roe* v. *Wade* Court—Reagan has fought as hard as he could; on others—the INF treaty—he has led the retreat. Whatever his record, it is nearly complete. The next President will have a full agenda, and he had better have an appetite for it.

For this reason, Jack Kemp stands—as he has stood all along—at the top of the Republican field. Conservatism might not fare disastrously under the Presidencies of some of his rivals. Under none of them would it fare as well. There are messianic shadings to Kemp's world view—an occasional disposition, as in the case of Social Security, to blur the edges between the dynamism of society and the power of the state—with which we disagree. In the context of his positions as a whole, and of his career, these are details. On issue after issue, Kemp has taken the right position, and taken it at the crucial time. He was the first Republican to criticize the INF treaty and Jim Wright's Central American un-realpolitik. When Judge Bork was going down, it was Kemp who said he would reappoint him in the next term. He was, of course, for tax-rate cuts long before the crowd, and he fought to preserve them throughout the Reagan Administration (fought harder, even, than Reagan himself). He has taken a similar position—out front, and early—on sound money.

No basket should hold all the eggs. There are things to admire in all of Kemp's competitors. There were also things to admire in John Connally, George Bush, and Phil Crane in 1980.

The Republican Party, and the nation, benefited from passing over them, and picking Ronald Reagan. The most plausible heir to his legacy—because he has the best sense of what remains to be done—is Jack Kemp.

Jack Kemp Rounds the Bend

His legs keep moving, and his arms
Flail out to punctuate alarms,
But though his knees are just a blur
And both his feet appear to whir,
He never seems to pull away—
As Alice heard the Red Queen say.

W. H. VON DREELE

SDI Death Watch

As FALL slips into winter, the enemies of SDI have undertaken a slow process of strangulation. The deed is being done by Congress, at the instigation of Senator Nunn.

Nunn this spring became enamored of the so-called "narrow" interpretation of the ABM treaty, according to which that document forbids development of SDI. The provision on which Nunn relies occurs, not in the treaty itself, but in an appendage, "agreed statement D." The irony is that "agreed statement D" was a compromise between suspicious Soviets who wanted no limitations on research or deployment, and eager-beaver American détentists who wanted a complete ban.

The Reagan Administration could have carried out a first strike on the problem, of course, by announcing, the day Ronald Reagan pledged his support of SDI, that the United States was withdrawing from the ABM treaty, as its signatories are entitled to do. The Administration chose instead to argue for a "broad" interpretation. Thus the case for SDI became lost in legal quibbling over a secondary issue.

Congress, following Nunn's lead, wants now to decide SDI's fate by budgetary policy-making. In September, the Senate voted 51 to 50 (Bush broke the tie) to boost SDI funding by $1 billion. The Administration had asked, vainly, for a boost of $2.2 billion. The lower figure, which House and Senate conferees have now approved, would confine SDI to research at "narrow"-interpretation levels.

A Defense Department report prepared for Senator Malcolm Wallop makes plain the costs of the "narrow" interpretation. To speed the design of kinetic kill vehicles—the "bullets" on which a first generation of SDI will rely—the "broad" guidelines are necessary. Without them, the preliminary tests must be split up into several less efficient stages. The timetable for kinetic kill vehicles would be stretched out several years.

Years is what we don't have. The Soviets' ABM defense—already long under way, in flat violation of the treaty, broad or narrow—will be in place by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

early 1990s. This, coupled with the newest generation of Soviet missiles, will give them unanswerable blackmail power over Western Europe, Japan—and us.

President Reagan has for years asked, correctly, for a line-item veto. He doesn't have it. If the defense-authorization bill with the Nunn poison pill included comes to his desk, he will have to veto the whole package.

RSVP

IT'S NOT CLEAR whose idea it was to invite Mikhail Gorbachev to address Congress, but the White House seemed willing to go along with it until Republicans in both houses threatened to make the "ugly scene" such an ugly symbol deserved. The deal is off now, though Gorbachev is still free to meet privately with congressional leaders, Jim Wright's office perhaps being the appropriate site.

The question is how the idea got so far. Does Ronald Reagan feel himself in a Nixon-like position of political beleaguerment? If so, is he tempted to succumb to the opportunity to play World Leader by holding Summits and signing treaties he would otherwise resist? It was when Nixon was in fact weakest that his rhetoric became most utopian: "a generation of peace," and so forth—followed by the fall of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran, and Nicaragua.

The disasters of the late Seventies—the West's worst period since the late Forties—weren't all Jimmy Carter's fault: he merely failed to arrest a momentum that had already begun. Two Republican Presidents under domestic pressure had made concessions that only Republicans could have gotten away with. Now the Democrats and their media allies are pushing Ronald Reagan to do things no Democrat would dare to do unilaterally, such as raising taxes and disarming.

We trust that the President will refuse the bait of this kind of "bipartisanship." Even now he has a unique power either to set bad precedents to which Democrats can appeal in the future, or to affirm principles that they can only compromise at their risk.

The Yeltsin Affair

SOME SIXTY YEARS AGO, G. K. Chesterton characterized Moscow as the broken heart of Russia. The Boris Yeltsin affair reminds us that little has really changed in the ensuing years. The city's top Party chief dared to reveal a glimmer of human warmth and understanding, and the bosses in the Kremlin cracked down. Yeltsin's ouster broke many hearts—the hearts of Moscow's intellectuals, who mourn his fall from favor and protest the secrecy surrounding it; the heart also of Yeltsin, who was hospitalized with a cardiac problem shortly after his unceremonious demotion.

Soviet disinformers and even the official Soviet media have used the Yeltsin affair to encourage the notion that Gorbachev is in trouble. This has a suspiciously familiar echo about it, particularly coming so shortly before a U.S.-Soviet Summit meeting. Note this passage from a *Washington Post* article (Nov. 22, 1987): "Eastern-bloc specialists believe Gorbachev needs to show progress on limiting the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, known as Star Wars, at the Summit to ensure internal support for his policies. A failure at the Summit in this essential area could increase the pressure on Gorbachev from hard-line sectors, East European officials say." Similar voices are being heard in the West, even in circles (such as the National Security Council) that should know better. A link between Yeltsin and SDI may not be logical, but it was certainly predictable.

Gorbachev doubtless does have political opponents who were delighted to attack the outspoken, liberal Yeltsin as a surrogate for all they fear in *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). But we note that, in the end, it was Gorbachev himself who led the charge against Yeltsin. The General Secretary obviously understands the cardinal rule of Soviet politics—capture the center—and was not about to be caught out on a limb with Yeltsin. Gorbachev's political instincts are legendary, accounting for his meteoric rise to power; he is likely to survive the current turmoil and may even emerge stronger than ever in a few months' time.

Glasnost and *perestroika* will endure the storm as well. The twin pillars of Gorbachev's reform programs were never what Western enthusiasts made them out to be anyway. For millions of Muscovites, the Gorbachev reforms have meant only that they must work harder (*perestroika*), be yelled at more (*glasnost*), and stand in ever longer lines for ever scarcer vodka (the anti-alcohol campaign). In exchange for putting up with this, they get to read about AIDS, drug addiction, and airplane accidents for the first time in *Pravda*. Some consolation. Lies, wrote H. G. Wells, are "the mortar that binds the savage individual man into the social masonry." In the Soviet Union, the mortar of lies is especially thick, and Gorbachev, like everyone else, is but a chink in the masonry.

The Nicaragua Dilemma

THE ESSENTIAL failure in the Iran-Contra imbroglio was one of political judgment, and the report on the matter, now available, adds little to what we already knew.

The Reagan Administration faced, and faces, a formidable dilemma over Nicaragua. On the one hand, it knew that it faced a $2-billion-and-rising Soviet in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vestment in Central America, armed to the teeth and poised for its assigned task of destabilizing the region, not even bothering to be subtle about its goals. And here Mexico, of course, is the big enchilada.

On the other hand, the Administration faced a paralytic Congress and a McGovernized Democratic Party in which the Jackson (Henry) wing is now scarcely a feather. Indeed it is rather poetic that the current Jackson (Jesse) is a fellow-traveler of Third World Communist dictatorships, and that Paul Simon, a naïve dove, is trying to persuade us that he is Harry Truman, of all people—Truman of Hiroshima, Greece, NATO, the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, Korea.

Hindsight is always omniscient, but it seems clear that the Reagan Administration should have taken the Nicaragua matter directly and forcefully to the American people. Harry Truman in his day did exactly that, providing Winston Churchill with a bully pulpit in Fulton, Missouri, for his fire-alarm "Iron Curtain" speech.

Going public on Nicaragua might have worked, or it might not have worked. The word "Vietnam" has become a kind of mantra, which has little connection with the actual country in Southeast Asia, or with the war we botched there and the dire results for the locals concerned, but which has great incantatory power. On a longer view, Americans really may be fundamentally isolationist, and the globalist period of 1945-1965 may have been an aberration. But a Churchill-like appeal on Nicaragua might have worked. We will never know.

In any event, the people in the Administration who cared about Nicaragua and its strategic implications chose instead a clandestine route, which was flawed both politically and strategically. It was flawed politically because in a democracy *these things come out.* It was flawed strategically because the Contras in the field had no real chance of marching into Managua.

The next stop, maybe within five years, for Ortega, Castro, Gorbachev, and their friends—in and out of Congress—is Mexico City.

Meese: Sharks Circling

ONE BY ONE the old team has left the Reagan Administration, the original Reagan men who came East: Mike Deaver, Bill Clark, Cap Weinberger. The attrition rate has not been high overall, but it has been high in this particular sector, the Californians who were there from the beginning. Attorney General Edwin Meese remains, and should remain.

Nevertheless it is only realistic to note that the sharks have long been circling Meese. The cufflinks. . . . Vague charges about Iran and about Wedtech. . . . His imprudent enthusiasm for Robert Bork. . . . His failure to ascertain that Douglas Ginsburg once upon a time smoked pot. . . . David Broder, who has constituted himself the voice of the Beltway establishment, now calls for Meese's resignation. And so, more remarkably, does our beloved James Jackson Kilpatrick, with whom one takes issue every 15 years.

Ed Meese is in fact the very model of an honest public servant. He has served and has personally profited nothing. He has remarkable courage, as he demonstrated by the way he fought for William Bradford Reynolds's promotion to Associate Attorney General. You can't win them all. In the case of the Bork nomination, Meese did underestimate the viciousness of the campaign that would be launched. But even this may be chalked up to his innate decency.

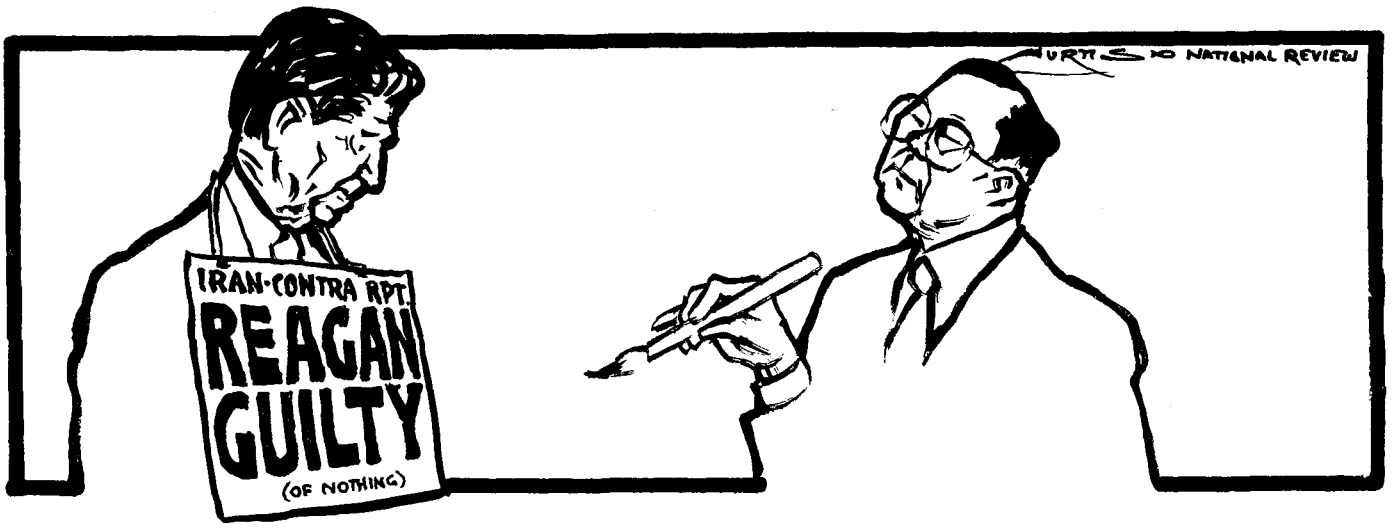
Ed Meese should not give them the satisfaction of tacking his skin to the side of the barn. This is a political fight, waged largely through a cooperative media, and many a mudball is being flung. Ed Meese, you who have fought the good fight for lo these many years, tell them to shove it. Or else you'll nominate them for the Supreme Court and we'll find out about *their* backgrounds!

Wake Up, Business Week!

UNLIKE the stock market, the U.S. press doesn't need any *reason* to panic. *Business Week*'s November 16 cover spread, "Wake Up, America!" provides an amusing sample of recent media hysteria.

In the leadoff article, Norman Jonas worries that "The point is fast approaching when they [foreign exporters] will want to be paid in U.S. goods. . . ." Stated another way, the ominous threat he sees is that U.S. exports may increase. In the second essay, Bruce Nussbaum says, "If we don't cool the party down soon our foreign debt could reach an eye-popping $1 trillion . . . by the early Nineties." A trillion-dollar foreign "debt" (including equity) would be only 16 per cent of GNP; Canada's "debt" is 100 per cent of GNP, South Korea's, 50 per cent. But this trillion-dollar fantasy contradicts Jonas, who claims that foreigners would want U.S. goods, not assets: if so, the foreign debt would not rise at all. Nussbaum instead worries that, because of the falling dollar, "fewer and fewer yen and marks are buying more and more stocks, bonds, real estate, and factories." But the dividends and rents from such foreign investments are likewise smaller when translated back into yen and marks, so there is no more incentive for foreigners to buy U.S. real estate and factories than before. If foreigners really were snapping up bargains in the U.S. stock and bond markets, as Nussbaum fears, then U.S. stock prices would be going up and interest rates would be going down. That doesn't sound so bad. But Nussbaum also contradicts himself, arguing that U.S. bond yields have to rise to attract foreign investors. When bond yields rise, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



price of bonds falls, so Nussbaum is arguing that foreigners want to be assured of a *loss* on their U.S. bonds. He even writes of "the hollowing out of the manufacturing economy" at a time when U.S. manufacturing output is 5.5 per cent higher than a year ago, 37 per cent higher than in 1982. Japan and Germany are far behind, which is the real reason they prefer to invest here. We get the factories, they get some of the dividends.

Karen Pennar caps the confusion with a plea for belt-tightening austerity. "All agree," she says, "that spending must fall and that new taxes . . . will make that happen." All agree? Maybe Miss Pennar didn't look hard enough for disagreement. On the other hand, she writes, "Businesses may have to invest more, and total output will have to rise." That is, businesses will have to invest more for a smaller market, and the sum of higher investment and lower consumption must somehow grow faster than it has been doing. How can we both "cool the party down," as Nussbaum demands, and also raise output and investment even more than we're already doing? Total output in the U.S. has already risen by 4 per cent a year for nearly five years—it was still rising at a 3.7 per cent rate in the first three quarters of 1987. Higher taxes and austerity are going to do better than that?

Miss Pennar gets totally confused by mixing (inaccurate) percentages of GNP with changes in actual levels of consumption or investment, and by using the stagflation of 1979 as the ideal we should emulate. Real GNP in the United States is up by nearly 22 per cent since 1982, twice as much as in Germany, so that U.S. fixed investment would be up by 22 per cent even if it were the same percentage of GNP.

Real U.S. fixed investment rose by 38 per cent from 1982 to 1986, according to the OECD, compared with less than 18 per cent in Japan, 7 per cent in Germany. And that understates the difference, because Japan and Germany count government public works as investment, while the U.S. does not. "So why are Japan and Germany succeeding," asks Miss Pennar, "where the U.S. can't?" The obvious answer is that they aren't. True, Japan and Germany are exporting a lot of their smaller output, but it is increased U.S. exports that *Business Week* fears will somehow lower our standard of living. If so, then why use the export-dependent economies of Japan and Germany as some sort of ideal? Those countries have been exporting capital, thus reducing future output and impoverishing their future generations. It is sad indeed that the largest U.S. business magazine doesn't have the foggiest idea what has been going on, and lacks the slightest understanding of economics.

Shepherds Astray

THE AMERICAN Catholic Bishops, finishing up their annual conference, have pronounced U.S. aid to the Contras "morally flawed." At the same time, they profess to support the mediation of Nicaragua's Cardinal Obando y Bravo. They prefer a "political solution" in Central America: "There is no politically or morally acceptable military solution."

Meaning what? That continued Communist rule would be preferable to a successful overthrow? If not, what, apart from a strong armed resistance, can induce the Sandinistas to agree to any "political solution" but their own continued monopoly of power?

The bishops' statement says that economic questions are "the most urgent policy issues facing Latin America today." So much for Communism. The statement also says that "the hemispheric crisis of growth and the external debt problem" constitute the greatest threat to democracy in the region. Which is pretty much what Fidel Castro has been saying. It isn't surprising that the bishops give a hint of approval for the Sanctuary movement too.

Still tethered to traditional Catholic teaching, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops has become distinctive only for its predictable leftward tropism. That it remains less radical than, say, the National Council of Churches testifies to the anchoring power

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of orthodoxy, which has a way of stabilizing the most erratic of us. To a woman who questioned his charity, Evelyn Waugh replied that she should try to imagine how bad he'd be if he *weren't* a Christian. The American bishops invite a similar mental exercise: imagine what they'd be saying if they *weren't* Catholics.

Thomas G. Bergin, R I P

"Professor Bergin was noted particularly for his research on Dante's Divine Comedy *and for its translation. He wrote a popular handbook,* Dante, *in 1965, to mark the seven-hundredth anniversary of the poet's birth . . ."—From the* New York Times *obituary, November 3, 1987*

Tom Bergin was not a political figure. True, he was an adamant Democrat, but not an activist Democrat, a nice distinction. I met him in 1948 when he presided over the first faculty meeting to convene under his direction when he came to Yale from Cornell as chairman of the Romance Language Department. In those days Yale was understaffed to meet the (anomalous) demands of a crowded postwar student body that desired to learn basic Spanish. Accordingly, three undergraduates with native knowledge of Spanish were conscripted to help teach the basic courses. I was one of them, and when the august, Roman-featured, internationally acclaimed scholar began the meeting, he stared at me and my friend Ted Pichel, unbelieving that his faculty should include undergraduates of such tender years. At just that moment the third of our number, a breezy young redhead brought up in Argentina, walked in wearing khaki pants, a stringy tie, and a seersucker jacket. Bergin stared at him, and said to his deputy: "Don't tell me *that* is also a member of my faculty?"

In 1965 I was in the living room of Henry Luce, discussing with Mrs. Luce plans for *NR*'s tenth-anniversary celebration, for which she was serving as chairman. She was called from the room, and my eyes fell on the galleys of the next week's issue of *Time*. The *entire* book section was devoted to praise of Professor Bergin's new book, *Dante*.

An hour later, the business concluded, I went down the elevator of the Fifth Avenue apartment building and ran to the nearest pay telephone. This was before the day of the credit card, so I put in a collect call. "Tom," I said breathlessly, "never betray me. But you and your publisher should know that the upcoming issue of *Time* mag devotes its entire book section to your book. Good-bye."

I doubt that a month went by, in 35 years, without an exchange of letters. He would include his latest poetry, his observations on the current Yale and national scene, kind words about stuff I had written combined with sighs of despair over my invincible ignorance.

Ten days before he died we spoke over the telephone, and he said yes, it was true he was planning to give his informal seminar on Dante again to adults —friends, mostly, whose exposure to his teaching quite simply changed their lives. I mourn the death of a beloved man, and extend my condolences to his wife and family, and to the legion of friends who will always owe him so much. And that includes Don Irwin, the Argentinian redhead, who became a Democratic member of Congress, the mayor of Norwalk, and a Republican.

Vaya con Dios. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The "Remembering Dick Wellstood" piece [Sept. 25] seems to me the finest way to send a fella out I can think of. His brightness, articulateness, wit, and sense of proportion or balance (or something) in language (including content) matched his musical thinking. There indeed was a harmony there in him.

But being here, far from Hanratty's, I had not heard of his death, and the photo and my intuitive notion that this was an obit ran a wave of anger up through me, made me write this, causing me to wonder right now where I can get rid of this rotten feeling that we are trimmed down so often by our mortality.

Had the same feeling some years back when Paul Desmond died. I knew him at SF State before he went off with Brubeck. Desmond and I worked on our writing with Walter Van Tilburg Clark and Mark Harris there. I went into words (after leaving a dozen years as jazz pianist on the Coast), and of course Paul went his way. He told me once that he'd made the wrong choice. Went on about it, that it was too late. And then it was.

Of interest: I went down with my wife one evening to Hanratty's to see Wellstood—to show him to her—and the house was zilch. No one. We were it! So it was fine, and Dick kept asking what we wanted to hear. I finally said it was a test and I wanted "All the Things You Are," said by some (Dave McKenna for one) to be the finest jazz tune written. (Hmmm.) Well, Dick killed himself. The tune kept opening and opening, fuller and bigger, chorus after chorus. He seemed to be trying to get it the way a rodeo star takes a steer down by the horns.

When he finally calmed the tune down and brought it to an end, he wiped his brow and stood up and said, "Whew, what a tune," and walked off wringing wet.

Anyway, thanks for the piece. And by the way,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

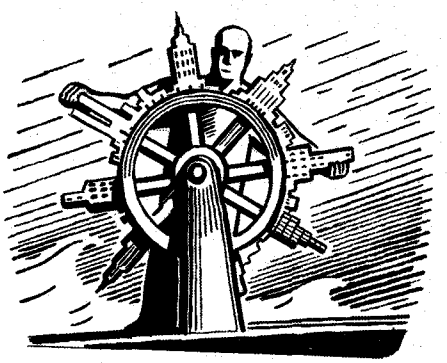
WHO'S KEEPING OUR ECONOMY COMPETITIVE?

Increased competition in the global marketplace these last 20 years has resulted in the U.S.'s losses in such sectors as automobiles, steel, consumer electronics and semiconductors. Yet there is a vital and growing segment of America's economy that is keeping us in the world economic race. These companies are bolstering our industrial output and enabling us to produce more jobs at a faster rate than any other country.

Comprising this segment are the thousands of dynamic, midsized companies managed by innovative businessmen-entrepreneurs willing to take risks, hungry for new business and prepared to restructure to keep pace with the changing global marketplace. These midsized growth companies are the key to America's future economic success.

MIDSIZED COMPANIES AND OUR ECONOMY.

When McKinsey & Company, the national consulting firm, undertook a study of midsized companies in 1983, what they found surprised corporate America. They learned that the 13,000 nonfinancial companies with sales between $25 million and $1 billion, while representing less than 1 percent of all U.S. businesses, accounted for 25 percent of



sales and 19 percent of private sector employment in the U.S.

Like the Fortune 100, these companies cut across all industry sectors, from high-technology to basic manufactured goods. But unlike their larger counterparts, these companies were competing and winning in the world marketplace, booking foreign trade and gaining market share at a time when much of America's goods and services were losing out to those of Europe and Asia.

INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURIAL DRIVE.

McKinsey also observed that for midsized growth companies, management was more likely to have a larger ownership stake–as much as 25 times that of the Fortune 100–that there was less bureaucracy and more innovation, and less resistance to change. In short, more entrepreneurial drive.

Drexel Burnham Lambert, one of the leading investment bank and securities firms, has built its reputation providing America's midsized growth companies with access to capital. Through innovative financing techniques like high yield securities and equity-linked debt, Drexel Burnham has raised the capital midsized growth companies need to develop new products and markets, create new jobs and invest in new plants and equipment.

PROVIDING ACCESS TO CAPITAL.

Since 1980, we have raised more than $20 billion in capital through debt and equity offerings for over 400 companies with revenues of $500 million or less, which is more than any other investment bank.

By providing access to capital for midsized companies, Drexel Burnham is helping to finance America's growth. Our 10,000 employees in the U.S. and overseas are working to make America's businesses better.

CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE.

This has been a part of our continuing series on important, controversial and complex issues that challenge American competitiveness. For reprints of our entire series, write Frederick W. McCarthy, Drexel Burnham Lambert, 60 Broad Street, Room 1111, New York, New York 10004.

Drexel Burnham
Helping People Manage Change.

Member SIPC © 1987 Drexel Burnham Lambert Incorporated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do you listen to Dave McKenna? Seen him in that marvelous Back Bay room in Boston?

Finally, is there a videotape of the *Firing Line* episode with Wellstood and Billy Taylor? I'd love to buy a copy.

Sincerely,
John Herrmann
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Herrmann: Thanks. I felt that way too. . . . Any *Firing Line* tape (cost, $150) can be ordered from the Southern Educational Communications Association, P.O. Box 5966, Columbia, S.C. 29250. WFB

☐ House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill:

I read Attorney General Meese's piece on the Constitution with great interest ("Saving the Constitution," July 17). As always, his legal and constitutional scholarship are compelling, and he is to be applauded for his efforts to distinguish the results of Supreme Court decisions from the Constitution itself.

In his discussion of *Dred Scott*, however, the Attorney General perhaps understated the determination of President Lincoln and Congress to ensure that their interpretation of the Constitution—and not the Supreme Court's—prevailed. Properly affronted by the High Court's announcement that, under the Constitution, the slave owners' right to property outweighed the slaves' right to liberty, Congress responded with legislation that abolished slavery in the territories. On June 19, 1862, Congress sent the bill to the President, who promptly signed it into law.

Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

"There's a scare that peace may break out in Central America."

By emancipating black Americans without compensation to the slave owners, Congress and President Lincoln overturned the *Dred Scott* ruling by statute, long before the Thirteenth Amendment. As Attorney General Meese pointed out, they were fulfilling their constitutional duty to respond to a decision with which they disagreed.

The moral and legal equivalent of *Dred Scott* in our time is *Roe* v. *Wade*, which legalized abortion. I believe a similar responsibility has fallen on Congress to address *Roe* v. *Wade*.

That is why, while pursuing a constitutional amendment and the appointment of sound Supreme Court Justices, I have called upon Congress to pass legislation that again guarantees the inalienable right to life of all children. As democracy and human dignity prevailed over *Dred Scott* in Lincoln's time, so can democracy and human dignity prevail over *Roe* v. *Wade* in our time.

Sincerely,
Jack Kemp
Washington, D.C.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

After my letter to you on the article on the Dominican Republic, we subscribed to NATIONAL REVIEW. You have a unique style and sometimes I even laugh with your articles.

This time I am writing to you because of the issue on Mr. James Burnham [Sept. 11]. What did I feel? If I have to put it in one word, envy!! You were all extremely lucky to know and love someone like him.

In his memory, thanks. It was a masterpiece that I will treasure all of my life.

Best regards,
Magda de la Torre
Director of Tourism
Dominican Republic Tourist Office
Toronto, Ont.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your three columns on the *Titanic* [*NR*, Oct. 9] were extremely moving and splendidly written. I have one acidulous comment to make and here goes: Why, oh why, do you assume that when a ship dies *she* loses *her* gender? Time and again, you refer to the corpse of a majestic, devastated lady as "it"! I'd consider you, therefore, guilty of an unmitigated solecism, all the more horrendous in coming from you, a seasoned salt.

Sincerely,
Consuelo Ives, MD
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Ives: It was unconscious. But not uninteresting, Freudian-slipwise. Maybe a fallen lady isn't any longer a lady??? Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

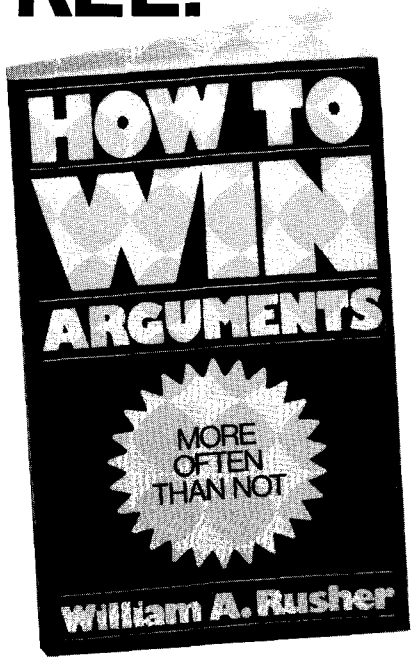
If you have ever come away from an argument feeling frustrated,

THIS IS THE BOOK FOR YOU!

Bill Rusher's act of treachery—giving away the house secrets—may make him rich and famous. At home, we will treat him like the Rosenbergs.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

GET IT FREE!



To get this valuable book fill out and mail the card opposite this page today!

Like it or not, you always find yourself getting into discussions and arguments; it seems impossible to avoid nowadays. Don't you really owe it to yourself to learn how to handle such situations—how to argue *and win*?

Sound difficult? Not when you have *How to Win Arguments* handy. This practical and highly entertaining book is by William A. Rusher (*National Review*'s publisher). Rusher, a professional arguer *par excellence*, is eminently qualified to show *you* how to do it well.

You've probably seen him in action on TV's *The Advocates*, *Good Morning America*, *Viewpoint*, or other shows, and marveled at his effectiveness. No one seems able to put him down. At the very least, he's going to give as good as he gets even when defending positions popularly assumed to be indefensible. Now, in *How to Win Arguments*, Rusher lets you in on the trade secrets and shows you how to acquire the skills and techniques necessary to hold your own in any argument or discussion.

This is not a treatise full of technical jargon—it's an enjoyable, informal guide to clear thinking. It covers all the basics from how to prepare for an argument and how to handle yourself under fire to how to allow for individual strengths and styles. There's even a fascinating chapter filled with advice from other expert debaters such as William F. Buckley Jr., Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Phyllis Schlafly. As the book jacket says, it is indeed an ". . . entertaining and comprehensive guide to the techniques, rhetorical devices, and principles of successful argumentation." No argument there.

Right now, with this special offer, you have the opportunity to get this valuable book absolutely FREE and postpaid. All you have to do is enter a subscription to *National Review* (or renew your current one, no matter when it expires) for one year at the regular $36 rate. Simply fill out the handy postage-free card opposite and mail it to us today. We'll send you your FREE copy of *How to Win Arguments* as fast as we can, and you'll start receiving NR hot off the press too. Our supply of books is limited, so please act now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIS DARKEST HOUR?

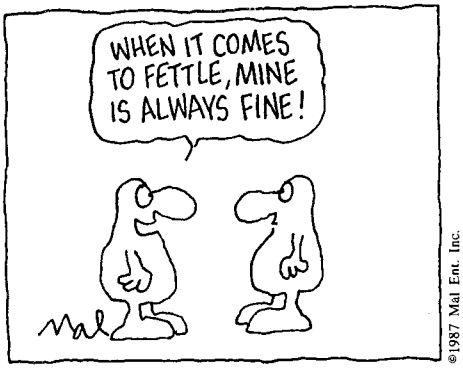
UNDERESTIMATING Ronald Reagan is a thriving cottage industry along the shores of the Potomac. Periodically, pundits converge to pronounce the end of the Reagan Administration. Veteran Reagan-watcher Lou Cannon did it first, concluding his 1982 book, *Reagan*, with the bold statement that, although Ronald Reagan had promised much, he had delivered little, and would be only a one-term President.

Doomsayers of 1987 point to a 12-month string of woes. They begin with the loss of the Republican majority in the Senate one year ago. Next, the Iran-Contra affair. Then, a mournful series of lost skirmishes with the newly Democratic Congress, notably the budget-busting battles over the highway and water bills, both ending in unsustained vetoes, the hallmarks of dwindling presidential authority. Then, the lamentable Bork/Ginsburg debacles. Finally, George Shultz appears to have removed the Contra movement's spark plugs by saying that no military aid will be sought until the next session of Congress. Little wonder that Ed Rollins, director of the President's 1984 landslide re-election campaign, says that 1987—Reagan's seventh year in office—makes the case for a single-term, six-year Presidency. Has the sun set on Reagan's White House? Or can the President rally one last time?

Actually, Reagan has seen and conquered worse problems. Let's take the series of events that prompted Cannon's 1982 pronouncement. The trouble began in the fall of 1981, when a prolonged economic slump was officially declared a recession. Before it was finally broken more than a year later, it had sent unemployment rates soaring to almost 11 per cent. Meanwhile, Reagan's National Security Advisor, Richard Allen, amid reports of internecine White House guerrilla warfare, resigned after a $1,000 honorarium was found in his safe and it was disclosed that he had accepted an unreported wristwatch or two. Then Anne Gorsuch Burford got into trouble over her refusal to release documents relating to waste-dump cleanups, and eventually she was forced to resign under a media-created cloud.

The troubles, although mixed with signal successes, continued into the following year. The Israelis invaded Lebanon, the U.S. Marines joined the International Peacekeeping Force, and massive incompetence seemed to invest Reagan's foreign policy, with the low point being the grisly bombing of the Marine barracks. The grim story took a bizarre turn when Jesse Jackson popped up in Syria, where, in a flurry of publicity, he engineered the release of a U.S. Navy pilot shot down during a retaliatory raid. As election year began, John Glenn and Gary Hart were both showing up well against the President in head-to-head polling.

Politics is played on a terrain of peaks and valleys. Valleys are wide and deep, and peaks slippery. Reagan has hit towering heights during his tenure, but no President can retain his footing on such lofty ground for long. His constituency is too big, too clamorous, too demanding, to permit any enthronement on Mount Olympus. Put differently, the public is grateful for past presidential accomplishments but is more interested in what the President will achieve next. American leaders can seldom sit back and live off their capital. Rather they must keep offering more.



Reagan's recent accomplishments are substantial. The recovery, despite Black Monday, appears headed toward its sixtieth month. Interest rates are back down, and the deficit is down. Protectionism has lost much of its steam, thanks to the market collapse.

What now? First, Reagan should reject the advice of those White House staffers who are urging him to do the politically safe thing for 1988 and submit a cautious election-year budget in his January State of the Union Address. Instead he ought to confound his Democratic critics and submit a balanced budget—a budget that balances not in two or three years but in one. No such budget will be passed in 1988, of course, but the election-year debate over spending and taxing priorities that it would incite would benefit the commonweal, besides re-enlivening Reagan's Presidency.

IN SHORT, Reagan should be Reagan—Reagan the optimist, the leader who says, "If not us, who? If not now, when?" In less than two months, the seventh year of his Presidency draws to a close with the State of the Union. If a seven-year itch were to excite Reagan, and if he were to decide to break the rules of second-term Presidents and refuse to cede center stage one minute before January 20, 1989, he would have sufficient time for a comeback. To this end, Mr. Reagan should tour the Soviet Union next year, and possibly repeat his successful 1982 Latin American journey.

But the clock is running, and official Washington is also itching—for the fresh faces and titillating crises that come with a change of regime. Like a king surrounded by greedy heirs and artful advisors, Reagan must heed his own counsel, and put energy into his final year as President. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

university

The University Bookman is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber, living in the U.S.A., gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at **$5.00** a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

bookman

The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MOSCOW/PEKING DILEMMA

NEVER HAS James Burnham's classic distinction between real and formal meaning been more strikingly illustrated than in the almost simultaneous speeches and resolutions the other day in Moscow and Peking: in Moscow, on the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution; in Peking, for the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

As Burnham well knew, the distinction exists in our Western world as well as in the special inverted world of Communism, but it takes a very different form there, and it is not easy for Western politicians and media people unversed in Marxist-Leninist thought to grasp what the message really is.

I read Mikhail Gorbachev's three-hour speech on November 2 from start to finish, and it qualifies as the most interesting speech from the Soviet Union since Khrushchev's famous "secret" speech in 1956 (still not printed in the USSR). Not the least interesting aspect of it is that it contains a minimal amount of *glasnost* in comparison with Khrushchev's speech (which was made long before the word passed into the universal language of politics).

In Communist systems, such details are important. This detail indicates the degree to which Gorbachev's plans for reform are being frustrated by the "conservatives" in the Politburo, led by the guardian of ideological purity, Yegor Ligachev. (Amusing, is it not, that the most extreme Communists are called "conservatives": yet another pitfall of political semantics.)

Admittedly, Khrushchev's list of Stalin's crimes was highly selective (he was indifferent to crimes against "enemies of the people"), but he did at least spell out many of them. Gorbachev merely said Stalin's guilt was "immense and unpardonable," but gave no details. And how is this for an evasive and euphemistic litotes: "The waging of the struggle against the kulaks did not proceed without excesses"? Robert Conquest's estimate of the human cost of collectivization was 14 million dead.

Moreover, General Secretary Gorbachev found much to praise in Stalin's leadership. Nor is this unnatural, for it is part of Gorbachev's dilemma that he wishes to overhaul the Soviet way of doing things from top to bottom, but without rejecting the socialist legacy of Lenin, as furthered by Stalin.

In a sense, it was Lenin's good fortune, historically, to have died so early in his own life and in that of his revolution. The fact that he did not survive beyond 1924, when his New Economic Policy had not fully run its course, enables present-day ideologists to interpret his intentions as they wish. The disinformers can say that, having realized the virtues of free enterprise and the profit motive, Lenin would have dumped Marxist economic planning, while the true believers can say, as Gorbachev did, that "the measures of the New Economic Policy were directed at constructing the material foundations of socialism." Which, I think, amounts to saying that only a hefty dose of capitalism will make socialism work; which again, is what Gorbachev is actually postulating as the precondition of his restructuring, or *perestroika*.

THE SAME dichotomy, differently phrased, is evident in Peking. The new leader of the ruling Party, Zhao Ziyang, paid his ritual tribute to "Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought." This was mighty big of him, because like most of the new Chinese leaders, he was himself a victim of that form of Mao Tse-tung Thought known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: in 1967, the Red Guards dragged him through the streets of Canton in a dunce's hat. Yet how can a Party logically reject a great leader because of his crimes, when it would not be in power without that leader's contribution to the revolution? The dilemma is insoluble.

It is perhaps most exquisitely illustrated by this extract from Zhao's speech of October 25:

> . . . to believe that the Chinese people cannot take the socialist road without going through the stage of fully developed capitalism is a mechanical view of the development of revolution and a primary source of Right deviationist mistakes. On the other hand, to believe that it is possible to omit the initial stage of socialism in which the productive forces are to be highly developed is a utopian view of this issue and a major cognitive root of leftist mistakes.

To see Zhao's speech in perspective, I add just two points. He claimed, no doubt accurately, that the gross national product, State revenues, and the average urban and rural income had all doubled in the past nine years. What he did not say, because everybody present knew it, was that these were the post-Mao years, in which Deng Xiaoping's equivalent of the New Economic Policy was introduced.

The other point is that Zhao called for political and economic "*structural* reform." In other words, for China's very own *perestroika*.

This 13th Congress, which had been much delayed, will certainly go down as a personal triumph for Mao's "capitalist roader" and former Red Guards dunce, Deng Xiaoping. Deng finally made it into retirement, at 83, taking with him the other octogenarians, who, in Peking as in Moscow, are termed "conservatives" because they don't like the idea of peasants and workers tasting a bit of capitalist affluence.

I can only hope that our leaders will not be so bemused by the good things happening in Moscow and Peking as to forget the fundamental commitment to Communism of both major Communist powers. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"SHE'S THE KIND OF WOMAN WHO'S ALWAYS TURNING HEADS. I SET THE SAME CRITERION FOR HER DIAMOND."

Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena—with more fire, more sparkle and scintillation.

Each is a visible reflection of you. Unique in all the world, possessing four characteristics that set it apart forever. They are called the 4C's: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. These determine the value of a diamond—and to an astonishing degree, the beauty and value of your jewelry.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. His knowledge can help make the acquisition of a quality diamond of a carat or more the beautiful, rewarding experience it should be.

A diamond is forever.

The ring shown features a quality diamond of 2 carats. For more information, please write Unigem International 448 South Hill St. Los Angeles, CA 90013.

A CARAT OR MORE. EXTRAORDINARY DIAMONDS FOR EXTRAORDINARY WOMEN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the Democrats Lose Elections

George F. Will

When Earl Weaver was manager of the Baltimore Orioles he would charge at umpires shouting, "Are you gonna get any better, or is *this* it?" Many Democrats, weary of watching the Democratic Party flounder in presidential competition, are ready to rise up and shout like that.

During the last forty years, the party's fall has been long and hard. Democratic presidential candidates have won a majority of the popular vote only twice in the last ten elections. Beginning with 1952, Republicans have dominated Democrats in electoral votes 3,245 to 1,518. Since Eisenhower entered politics, the Democrats have lost six of nine elections and received 12 per cent fewer popular votes than the Republicans. Just under one-quarter of today's electorate was eligible to vote in 1952. That means three-quarters have voted only in what is, at the presidential level, a Republican era.

In the nine elections beginning with 1952, 39 states, with a total of 441 electoral votes (171 more than the 270 needed to win), have voted Republican five times or more. Thirty-three of those states, with 322 electoral votes, have gone Republican in six of those nine elections. Seventeen states, with 143 electoral votes, have gone Republican in eight of the nine. Monomaniacal Arizona has voted Republican in all nine.

The Democratic Party has no comparable base of states strongly disposed toward it. There are only nine states that have voted Democratic in five or more of those nine elections. These states, plus the District of Columbia, have a paltry 81 electoral votes.

Who is the most potent Democrat of the last two decades? Jimmy Carter. Do not scoff. You can look it up. In a span of five elections (1968 through 1984) he is the only Democrat to win more than 43 per cent of the vote.

It is true that in 1984, in the teeth of the Reagan gale, Democrats won 65 per cent of all contested elections. In the 1986 competition for approximately 7,500 state legislative seats, Democrats gained 180 seats and now control 68 of the 98 partisan legislative chambers, a gain of five. (Peculiar Nebraska, with its unicameral and nonpartisan legislature, does not count, except to Nebraskans.) In politics as in baseball what happens in the minor leagues matters because that is where the big-leaguers grow. Attractive state legislators often get promoted to the national legislature.

Nonetheless, minor-league gains are cold comfort for clear-sighted Democrats. They know that repeated Republican successes in presidential contests cannot be hermetically sealed at that level. A party that wins the White House consistently enough will, in time, win the courthouse. Ours is a presidential system. The Presidency is the agenda-setting and tone-setting institution from which radiate influences that permeate all levels of politics.

Many Democrats say that the Republican run of successes is a fluke produced by a series of weak Democratic nominees. But in the last four elections the Democratic Party has tried to sell the country McGovern, Carter twice (successfully only against an accidental President), and Mondale. Four such "aberrations" consecutively are not aberrations. They reflect a single strong propensity to misread the electorate's mood.

Part of the Democrats' accelerating problem is a by-product of the political chemistry of concentration. As moderately conservative Democrats drift away to the Republican Party, the ratio of liberals to all others in the Democratic Party rises. This makes it steadily more difficult for a moderately conservative Democrat to win a presidential nomination. And that hastens the flight of the less liberal Democrats. And so it goes.

A presidential candidate has two crucial resources—time and money. If nothing is tied down, time and money cannot be economized. The Democrats' problem in 1980 and 1984 was that no region was tied down—not even the Northeast. Today the Democrats' biggest

This article is adapted from The New Season, *by George F. Will. Copyright ©1987 by GFW Inc., a Maryland corporation. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

headache is the once-solid South. After the 1990 census, the 11 Southern states will probably have 148 electoral votes, over half the 270 needed to win. Furthermore, as David Broder notes, "In every presidential election since 1956, the candidate who has won the largest number of electoral votes in the 11 Southern states has walked into the White House. That is true of no other region. The Midwest and the West voted for losers in 1960 and 1976; the Northeast in 1968." So in 1988 it will have been nine elections since the South backed the losing horse.

Mindful of their region's importance, the Democratic-controlled Southern state legislatures arranged the Southern regional primary, which, coming hard on the heels of New Hampshire's primary, will select a number of delegates equal to nearly 60 per cent of the total needed to nominate. What have they wrought? Neither they nor anyone else knows. The principal purpose of the Democrats who proposed this regional primary was to increase the influence of their region in the party's nominating process. But it is easy to imagine a circumstance in which open primaries (which eight of the participating states have) would defeat this purpose. Suppose the "slingshot effect" of Iowa and New Hampshire slings two liberals toward the South. Suppose the regional primary becomes, on the Democratic side, essentially a referendum on the candidates who finished first and second in New Hampshire—say, Dukakis and Simon. Conservative Democrats might wrinkle their noses, curl their lips, and migrate to the Republican side of the primary, leaving the Democratic primary largely in the possession of liberals. The black vote would remain loyal to the Democratic Party and would become even more powerful in that primary. All the white candidates other than the first- and second-place finishers in New Hampshire might be too short of cash to continue, but Jesse Jackson's campaign, if it is like his magical mystery tour of 1984, will be running on adrenaline, churches, and free media. It is conceivable that Jackson could win the regional primary that Southern Democrats hoped would move the party toward moderation.

The root problem here is not technical but ideological. The Democratic Party, as William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute has noted, has become less populist and more liberal as the country has tended toward what Reagan embodies and the South admires—a mixture of populism and conservatism. Populism involves expansive faith in the masses, sentimental celebration of the common man, and suspicion of meritocracies and other hierarchies, including resentment of a regulating central government of the sort associated with Northern liberalism. If the Democratic Party is going to come back to presidential power, it must come to terms with the South's conservatism.

When Democrats grow weary of worrying about the South, they can worry about the West. But then, if they solve their problem with the South, they will have gone a long way toward solving their problem with the West. The South's susceptibility to Republican wooing is grounded in resentments the West shares. One is the belief that the Federal Government has become an inhibitor of economic dynamism. Another long-standing resentment derives from the durable belief that under any Administration the "permanent government"—the federal bureaucracy—is dominated by Eastern liberals who too much enjoy bossing around other regions, telling them how to run their schools (the South) and what to do with their land and water (the West).

THERE ARE SIGNS that the Democrats have begun to address the ideological sources of their impotence on the presidential level. Digging and delving in the Democratic Party's 1986 policy pronouncement, "New Choices in a Changing America," you come upon this thumping affirmation: "Families matter." What is going on? A back-to-basics movement among the Democrats that is ominous news to Republicans. Democrats have gone out in the pasture behind the barn to practice new lines.

The Democratic document contains serious thoughts about the changing texture and rhythms of family life. The median income of families doubled between 1947 and 1973 but has stagnated since then, in spite of the dramatic increase in two-income families. (Senator Pat Moynihan doubts that in the nearly four hundred years since Europeans settled in America there has been another period of comparable length in which family income essentially did not rise.) Home ownership and access to college are basic aspirations of middle-class families and are becoming less accessible. Since 1979 the rate of home ownership for people under 45 has been falling. In 1970 mortgage payments took 17.9 per cent of median family income; today they take 29 per cent. In 1970 average annual costs of attending a four-year private university took 29.6 per cent of median family income; today they take 40.4 per cent.

And there are other new anxieties. In the average kindergarten class today, one in six of the children was born to a teenage mother. More than 25 per cent of America's families are single-parent families, and 95 per cent of these are headed by women. Of all mothers with school-age children, 70 per cent work outside the home.

Addressing these problems, recent Democratic policy pronouncements have emphasized more aid for college students and subsidized mortgages, as well as "flex-time" and "portable pensions" and day care to empower people to control more of their working lives. For Democrats these proposals could constitute a recipe for a return to the glory days that have passed them by.

But Democrats, in their new enthusiasm, may be about to pound the idea of family policy into the sort of shapeless goo they have made of the idea of civil-rights policies. For years, Democrats have been christening their favorite domestic policies (job programs, public housing, urban renewal) as civil-rights policies, in an attempt to insulate them from criticism. Now there is a tendency to turn family policy into another classification that does not classify. Tax reform, job training, aid for small—sorry, I mean "family"—farms, all are advertised as "pro-family" policies because they ease social distress, and distress is hard on families. The traditional liberal agenda can come clothed in the language of "traditional" values.

For the matter of "family values" marched onto the stage from the Right. By the mid 1980s Democrats had decided that middle-class anxieties about the rapid changes in social mores were not confined to conservatives. The most illuminating aspect of the Democratic document is the care it takes to express a particular attitude, using families as the focus. This is less an attempt to promise governmental solutions than a more modest attempt to dem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ART OF SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE

VISA® DAMASK

Visa fabrics by Milliken.
Elegance plus natural touch
plus performance.
With exceptional pattern and
color retention. With superior
stain release, brightness,
durability, foldability.
With the best of everything
in quality, support, service.
*Visa of Dacron.**
America's Freedom Fabric.

America's Freedom Fabric
VISA BY MILLIKEN
America's Freedom Fabric

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

See us at RHIDEC Booth #841
Circle number 68

DACRON® DUPONT POLYESTER

®Visa is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.
*Dacron is a DuPont registered trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

onstrate empathy with voters who are anxious about a problem that is not submissive to political solutions. This is why the 1986 Democratic document and banalities like "families matter" matter.

Another area where the Democrats' rhetoric is changing is economic policy. The 1986 tax-reform bill represented a giant and salutary step back from one of the Democratic Party's favorite pastimes, trying to use the tax code to fine-tune the fairness of society. One of the Democrats' major problems has been their high peculiarity quotient, which has derived in part from their endless search for perfect fairness.

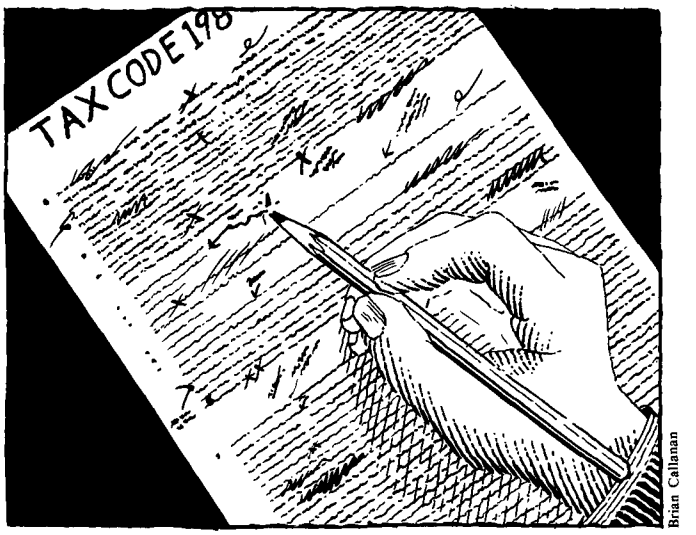
Backward reels the mind to the San Francisco Democratic convention and its rules committee, which endorsed creation of a Fairness Commission to fine-tune the party's rules "as they relate to the full participation . . . of the Rainbow Coalition." The rules committee stipulated that "The Commission shall consist of at least fifty members equally divided between men and women, and shall include fair and equitable participation of Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian/Pacifics, women and persons of all sexual preference consistent with their proportional representation in the party." At the 1980 Democratic convention Puerto Rico had more votes than Oregon or West Virginia. California's Democratic Party reserved 15 per cent of its delegate slots for Hispanics—and then counted Greeks as Hispanics. Few voters know that Democrats, in solemn assembly, do things like this. If voters knew, Democratic candidates would suffer even worse electoral rebukes.

In accepting tax reform, Democrats took a U-turn on the issue of fairness. Recently, the word "reform" has become a semi-synonym for "simplification," and simplicity means, in practice, a less statist approach to the pursuit of economic and social goals. The 1986 tax bill said fairness is not a function of endless, complicated tinkering with the tax code.

THE FOLLOWING FACT may be portentous regarding the Democratic Party's re-definition of itself as the 1988 election approaches. In 1986, the prime mover in tax reform was Bill Bradley, a liberal young Democratic senator from a Northeastern industrial state. Ten years ago, important Democratic circles gave respectful hearing to nonsense like the Club of Rome report, with its suggestion that "zero growth" would be beneficial. Today Bradley sums up the necessary Democratic message in two words: "growth" and "strength."

But Democrats appear more easily reconciled to the idea of economic growth than to that of a strong defense. Regarding foreign policy, the Democratic Party has lost touch with its own noble tradition. This is odd because the Democrats say they revere someone who was a representative of that tradition, John Kennedy. But do Democrats remember him clearly? I do not think so. Kennedy was preoccupied with meeting America's commitments (such as to Vietnam, where he sent 16,000 Americans) and dedicated to a policy of containment around the world. That was Democratic orthodoxy. The party had been the principal foe of the principal evil of our century—totalitarianism. Democrats defined and waged the cold war and did it well.

Lord Salisbury said, "If you believe the doctors, nothing



is wholesome; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent; if you believe the soldiers, nothing is safe." However, it recently has seemed that if you believe the Democrats, nothing is vital. While Democrats have been failing to define vital interests, they have also been failing in their attempt convincingly to adjust even their rhetoric in the direction of realism.

Their most interesting attempt to do so came shortly before the 1986 elections, in a pronouncement from the Democratic Policy Commission. The Democrats' document said: "We understand that the Soviet Union poses the greatest threat to world peace and freedom." That phrase "we understand" struck a plaintive note, as in "We understand, really we do, honest." The Democrats' new tone was designed to appeal to Democrats who have strayed rightward. However, the tone was vitiated by the substance: lavish support for arms control and distaste for the Reagan Doctrine—which is "containment plus."

The Soviet Union is conspicuously an invalid trapped in a bureaucracy drunk on a nineteenth-century fallacy, Marxism. Only foolish Western policies—too little defense spending, too much subsidized trade, too few restrictions on industrial espionage and technology transfers—can save the Soviet Union from steady decline. Unfortunately, commercial democracies are prone to such policies. The Democratic Party, by its recent record on foreign policy, has acquired a burden of proof.

A second challenge for the Democrats is to overcome their recent record on race. Here, as in foreign policy, Democrats are heir to an admirable tradition. In 1938 major-league baseball was white and the back of the bus was black. Nothing finer can be said of the last fifty years than that today our children consider such social practices as bizarre and distant as we consider medieval medicine. But lately, scampering from one euphemism to another, the Democratic Party has settled on "compensatory opportunity" and "race-conscious remedies" and "goals"—never, ever say "quotas"—to blur the outlines of what it has done. What it has done is commit apostasy. It has abandoned the quest for a society in which race is an impermissible basis for state action.

And in recent years there has been another related but unlovely spectacle. It is white lawyers and editorial writers telling blue-collar whites that promotions or jobs or seniority systems must be sacrificed in the name of racial repa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

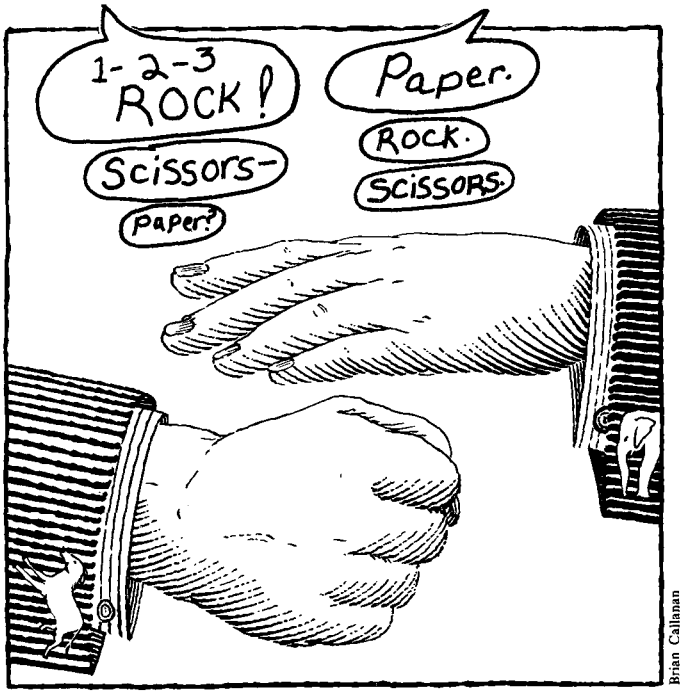
rations. It calls to mind Artemus Ward's jest during the Civil War: "I have already given two cousins to the war, and I stand prepared to sacrifice my wife's brother rather than that the rebellion be not crushed."

There hangs about the Democratic Party an aura of moral overreaching. A symptom is the use of words like "decent" and "sane," as in "a decent society requires" this or that, and "we propose a sane arms-control policy." Washington's indignation industry is going to slip a disk if it keeps on straining to argue that the nineteenth century has been reinstalled by Reagan—whose fiscal 1987 budget allocated two and a half times more, in real terms, for programs for low-income persons than was spent in 1970.

Disagree with a conservative and he will call you dense. Disagree with a liberal and he will call you selfish, insensitive, and uncompassionate. Liberal virtucrats decorate their Volvos with bumper stickers that say, "You can't hug a kid with nuclear arms," a thought the policy connotations of which are unclear, but which clearly says: The driver of this car is an admirably caring person.

ONE THING the Democrats might try in 1988 is adopting a tactic used by a dark-horse Republican candidate during 1987.

Shortly after 1984, Pierre du Pont set out to seek "damn right" issues. He said, "What Ronald Reagan said to the country in 1980 is that Communists are bad, taxes are too high, defenses are too weak, and I'm going to get government off your backs. Every guy on a tractor or in a coffee shop could listen to that and say, 'Damn right.'" What are the liberal "damn right" issues? I do not know. But some Democrats think they have found one in protectionism. Protectionism may be related to consumers' frayed psyches at finding Japanese brand names on everything from autos to VCRs. But it is also one form of a familiar, recurring reflex of government that Democrats seem particularly disinclined to resist. It is the reflex to protect organized, intense client groups from change.



Brian Callanan

As stable societies mature, they become like long-simmered stews, viscous and lumpy with organizations resistant to change and hence inimical to economic dynamism. Democracy becomes a means for such old interests to promote policies that protect those interests but retard growth. A frequently neglected task of government is to lengthen society's time horizon. Instead, government is constantly driven to preserve the status quo. So, for example, an institution designed to allocate capital to tomorrow's "winning" industries (such an institution is usually proposed in connection with an "industrial policy") is apt to be diverted to practicing "lemon socialism," bailing out Chryslers that already have constituencies.

In this optimistic country, change means hope. Liberalism lost its grip on the country when it built a government that showered benefits on client groups that then had a stake in the status quo. Such liberalism made the Democratic Party the party of government and government's clients (principally public employees and the poor), and lost it the support of most Americans, who, as John Sears has written, assume that change means improvement and give their support to whichever party promises an era of change.

But the nation has not always assumed that change results only from activist government. Indeed, American history is a history of unprecedented change—social, political, commercial, technological, intellectual—in which state power has been of secondary, even tertiary, importance compared to intellectual and scientific forces. In 1861, the infant GOP took charge of preserving the Union and, in the process, ended slavery. The nation then entered an era of hyperactivity—immigration, industrialization, closing the frontier, building railroads. The nation identified the GOP as the party with an ideology (minimal government, *laissez-faire*) conducive to rapid change. As a result, the GOP dominated politics for 72 years. In 1932 the Democratic Party acquired, first by default and soon through action, the status of the party of change. The question for the Democrats, on this theory, is whether in 1988, unlike the case in 1980, government will be considered an initiator of change rather than an inhibitor of America's creative energies.

It does not bode well for them that liberalism has done least well in the regions, like the South and West, that are undergoing the most rapid change, the regions with the most crackling energy. In 1984, twenty of the nation's 25 largest metropolitan areas voted for Reagan. However, Mondale did well with another set of 25 cities. He carried twenty of the 25 that lost population in the 1970s.

The great argument of 1988 will be a new installment in America's oldest argument. Both parties are participating in a debate that was raging nearly two hundred years ago when Alexander Hamilton wrote his "Report on Manufactures" and Jeffersonians dissented from his vision of government active in promoting commercial vigor. Then, as now, Americans were trying to define the appropriate government response to the fact that freedom and capitalism involve choices and casualties. Just as the Democratic Party must acquire foreign policies that acknowledge that the world is dangerous, the party also must acquire domestic policies that accept the fact that life is a corduroy road and there are limits to what government can or should do to smooth it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HERE COMES THE JUDGE

WITH TWO STRIKES against him, President Reagan decided to play it safe: he nominated Anthony Kennedy, a so-called moderate conservative, to fill the vacancy created by Justice Lewis Powell's resignation last July.

Conservatives are understandably uneasy about a nominee voted Most Easy to Confirm. And Kennedy's nomination has gathered some peculiar accolades, including one from Laurence Tribe, the Democrats' pet constitutional scholar. In public, most anti-Bork groups are taking a wait-and-see attitude, but off the record they display a suspicious lack of venom toward the new nominee. "Kennedy is non-ideological," an ACLU staffer told me in explaining why the ACLU may well watch this fight from the sidelines. "Even though he rules against us a lot. He has a much greater respect for precedent [than Bork] and he doesn't subscribe to the original-intent scheme for voiding rights." "I don't have the impression he's an ideologue like Bork," agreed a lobbyist for Planned Parenthood.

Kennedy, appointed to the federal bench by Gerald Ford in 1975, has gained a reputation as a judge of integrity who values collegiality and sticks closely to the facts of a case. "It's like the second coming of Warren Burger," says Mike McDonald of the conservative Washington Legal Foundation. The lukewarm reception Kennedy has met in some right-wing circles comes in part from lingering disappointment over the Bork defeat. Judge Bork was one of the few conservative legal scholars who's become a crossover hit with conservative activists. "I've been waiting to see Bork on the Court since 1975," grouses McDonald. In the current environment, where intellectual pre-eminence is a political liability, it's not surprising that Reagan's new choice is less well known and generates less enthusiasm.

As a lower-court judge, Kennedy has been bound by Supreme Court precedent. So, of course, was Judge Bork, but, unlike Bork's, Kennedy's opinions breathe no hint of hostility toward the long line of Warren Court "activist" decisions usurping local authority on issues like crime, education, and, of course, abortion. "His opinions give no sense that he was intellectually engaged, and therefore repelled, by the received wisdom handed down by the Court," notes McDonald.

The skepticism on the Right, and the premature rejoicing on the Left, center on the decision Judge Kennedy rendered in 1980 in *Beller* v. *Middendorf*. Writing for the majority, Kennedy ruled that the Navy may exclude homosexuals, but said that the right to privacy may confer constitutional protection on gays in other contexts. Ken Cady, a writer for the gay newspaper the *San Francisco Sentinel*, was sufficiently heartened by the rhetoric in *Beller* to claim that Kennedy would probably provide the fifth vote for overturning *Hardwick* v. *Bowers*, the case upholding a Georgia law barring consensual sodomy. "He went out of his way to indicate that a case like *Hardwick* presents an entirely different issue . . ." wrote Cady. "He wouldn't have gone to that trouble if he wasn't trying to tell us something. Apparently Ed Meese and his homophobic allies [who supported Ginsburg over Kennedy] saw it the same way."

Actually, of course, Ed Meese and his Homophobic Allies aren't singing the blues over the nomination of Kennedy, who, after all, was on the Justice Department's short list of Supreme Court nominees. Conservatives in the Administration argue that Kennedy was simply salting his opinion with neutral rhetoric to persuade other, more liberal judges to join him. The language of the opinion supports that interpretation. "We recognize, as we must," Judge Kennedy wrote, "that there is substantial academic comment which argues that the choice to engage in homosexual action is a personal decision, entitled, at least in some instances, to recognition as a fundamental right and to full protection as an aspect of the individual's right to privacy. . . . some kind of government regulation of private consensual homosexual behavior may face substantial constitutional challenges." Given the current convoluted state of constitutional jurisprudence, that's a pretty good bet.

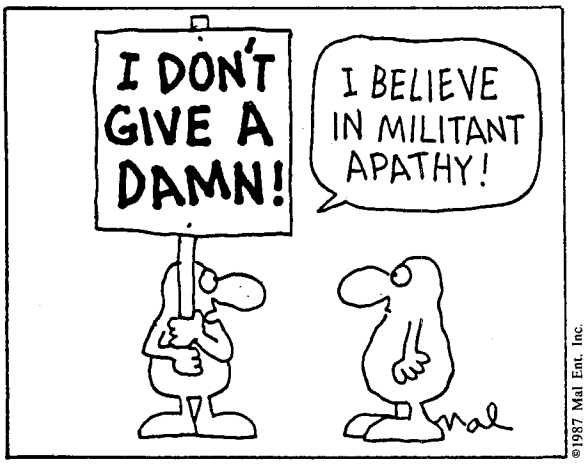
A FEW PRO-LIFE groups are also hot and bothered by the fact that, in *Beller*, Kennedy cites *Roe* v. *Wade* without expressing disapproval of it. American Life League, which frequently attacks other pro-life groups for ideological deviations, has announced it will mount a grass-roots campaign against the nomination unless Kennedy publicly promises to overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. "To have gone this far and end up nominating someone who is a question mark to us is an abdication of the Republican platform and an embarrassment to the President," says Judy Brown, the group's president. Jack Fowler of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life is less vehement, but still skeptical: "We're not out beating the band [for Kennedy]," he says. "We got our clocks cleaned running out for Ginsburg with no proof." And, breaking with the National Right to Life Committee (which endorses Kennedy), the board of the New Jersey Right to Life Committee passed a formal resolution urging the NRLC "to refrain from any action on behalf of any candidate whose position on abortion is unknown or ambiguous."

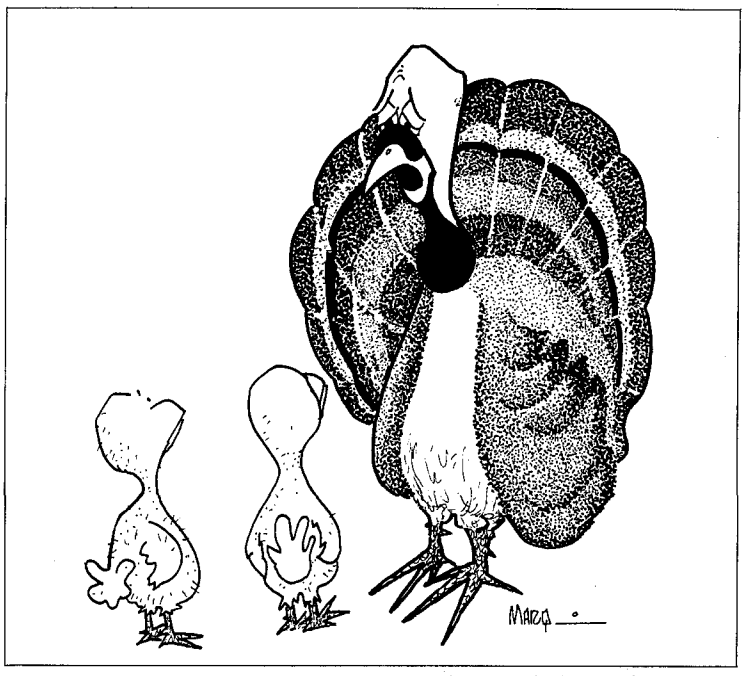
(Continues on page 59)

Miss Gallagher is NR*'s new article editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!



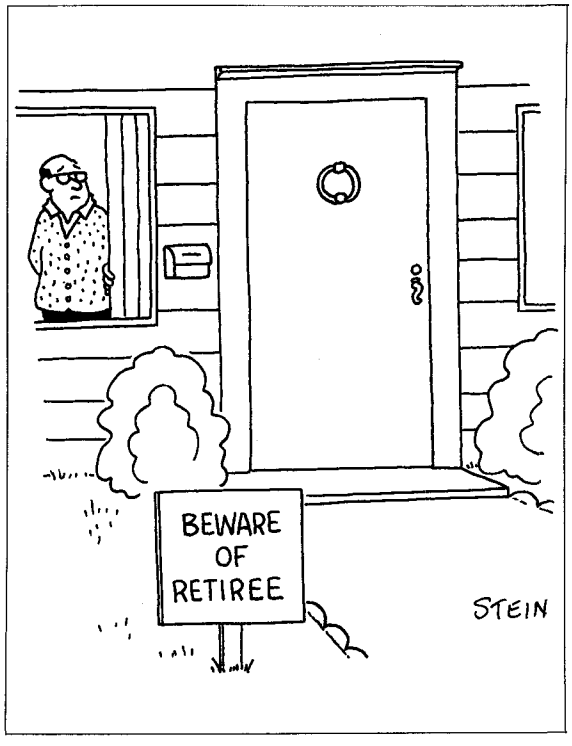


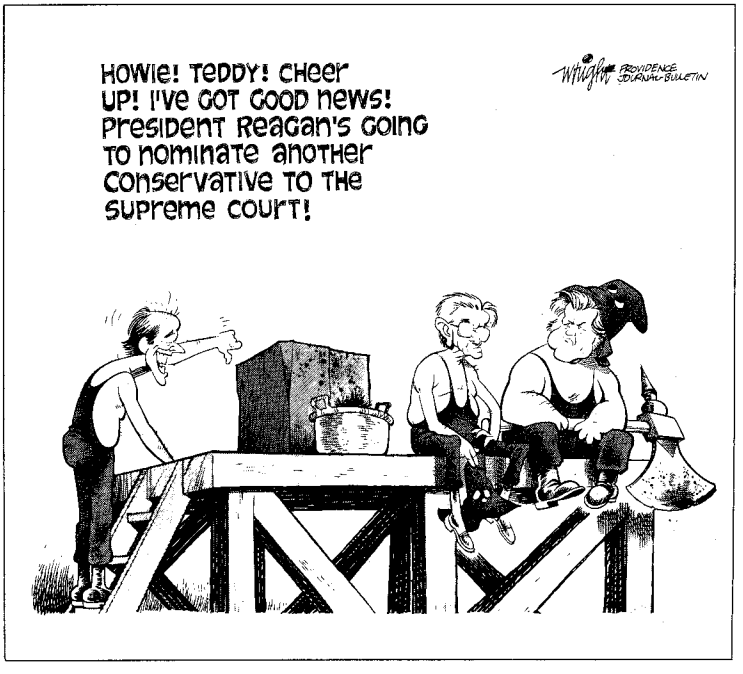
"Beware of November! It's the time when bad things happen to good turkeys."

Naked at the Heel

We think short-term, while Japanese
Plant acorns, dreaming of the trees
Which, watered daily, grow until
They wind up in our tariff bill.

W. H. von Dreele




HOWIE! TEDDY! CHEER UP! I'VE GOT GOOD NEWS! PRESIDENT REAGAN'S GOING TO NOMINATE ANOTHER CONSERVATIVE TO THE SUPREME COURT!
WILLIAMS PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"AFTER MUCH CAREFUL STUDY, WE HAVE FOUND THE PROBLEM. THE PROBLEM IS YOU ARE UNDERTAXED."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PETTY INQUISITORS

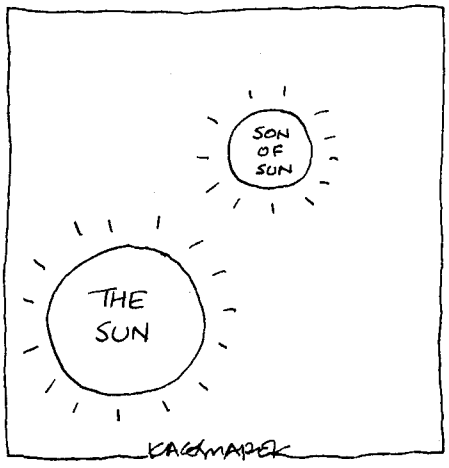
WHEN THE JUDGE warned Mae West that she might be in contempt of court, she rolled her eyes and drawled, "I'm trying my best to hide it, your honor."

Just so must many an Administration official feel when forced to appear before congressional panels composed of senators and representatives playing politics and covered by reporters playing Woodward and Bernstein. Presidents come and go, but the overwhelming reality on the Hill is the entrenched power of the Democratic Party. Democrats have ruled the House since 1955, and have controlled the Senate as well in 27 of the last 33 years. They would like the public to think that while Executive power corrupts, congressional power ennobles absolutely. The brash unrepentance of Democratic leaders such as House Speaker Jim Wright, when caught in acts that certainly create an "appearance of impropriety," suggests the complacency of unchallenged power.

Nowhere is Democratic arrogance more palpable than in the show trials, masquerading as hearings, in which congressmen harass and defame their hapless victims. At its most successful, accusation politics can keep someone from high office (William Bradford Reynolds, Ernest Lefever, Les Lenkowsky) or bring down a sitting Cabinet officer (former Secretary of Labor Ray Donovan). But a less successful campaign can still embarrass or intimidate a presidential appointee. For the most glorious (for the Democrats) aspect of trial by rumor is that no one—especially not the innocent—can escape unscathed.

A case in point is the misadventures of Faith Ryan Whittlesey, whose ordeal provides a textbook example of how the inquisition game is played. To the Democrats, Mrs. Whittlesey must have seemed an attractive target. Former White House director of public liaison and current ambassador to Switzerland, she is an intelligent, articulate, and highly skilled professional. She's also an indefatigable Reaganite and a vigorous advocate of free enterprise, SDI, and the Contras.

TO UNDERSTAND how the scandal scam works, one must recognize the invisible tendrils linking congressional committee staffs to the permanent bureaucracies and the prestige press. Faith Whittlesey's problems began with the bureaucrats in the State Department. An internal dispute had been simmering for some time over the use of "representational gift funds" by ambassadors and other State Department officials. What nettled the bureaucrats was the ability of some prominent ambassadors to raise private funds to supplement the government allowance at their posts. The bureaucrats' answer was vintage Washington: disallow the use of representational funds and ask Congress to spend more taxpayer dollars on embassies instead. When the question reached George Shultz, who had himself used privately raised funds to renovate his office and the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, he sided with the political appointees.



That ought to have been the final word, but the losing side apparently decided to take its case to a higher court: the *Washington Post.*

On September 26, 1986, the *Post* carried a front-page story with the headline "Two Departments Are Probing Whittlesey's Embassy Fund." This article and subsequent ones charged that Mrs. Whittlesey had misused her gift fund for personal purchases and had granted special favors to contributors, including, in one case, hiring a benefactor's son in exchange for a $5,000 contribution. Realizing that she could not defend herself long-distance, Mrs. Whittlesey hopped the first plane back to Washington, where the State Department inspector general had launched an inquiry and the Justice Department had started a second probe. A month after the first story broke, Donald Lynch, the administrative officer in Bern who had made the allegations of misuse of funds, issued a retraction. "I regret," he wrote to the investigators, "that unsubstantiated suggestions have been made." *That* story never made it into the *Post.*

Nor did Lynch's retraction put an end to the inquisition. For two and a half months, investigators from State and Justice combed through every file, phone log, and expenditure. At length the ambassador was exonerated on all charges. Every expenditure from the gift fund had been made out-of-pocket by Mrs. Whittlesey and then reimbursed by the State Department after a review. The investigators found no grounds for the rumor that she had used the gift fund for personal expenses, nor for the charge that a $5,000 contribution to the gift fund influenced her selection of an information officer. The new employee had previously worked for her at the White House, and the job had been offered to him long before his father contributed to the fund. The investigators

(Continues on page 60)

Miss Charen is a columnist for the Creators Inc. syndicate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

25th ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

NEW YORK STATE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

DINNER AND JOURNAL

DECEMBER 7, 1987
6:30 P.M.

SHERATON CENTRE HOTEL
SEVENTH AVENUE & 53rd STREET, MANHATTAN

CHARLES EDISON MEMORIAL AWARD HONOREES
PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN • THOMAS BOLAN • WILLIAM A. RUSHER

HONORED GUESTS AND HONORARY CHAIRMEN
WARREN M. ANDERSON
ALFONSE M. D'AMATO
SUSAN MOLINARI
CLARENCE RAPPLEYEA
EDWARD V. REGAN

DINNER CO-CHAIRMEN
ROBERT H. ABPLANALP
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.
BRUCE BENT
ESTEE LAUDER

For ticket information call Vince Downing at 212-689-8400

THE NEW YORK STATE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
STATE HEADQUARTERS: 45 EAST 29th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 (212) 689-8400

CHAIRMAN • SERPHIN R. MALTESE

EXECUTIVE VICE—CHAIRMAN • MICHAEL R. LONG • **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR** • ANTHONY M. RUDMANN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW STATUTE OF LIBERTY

JUST OVER a year ago, in the closing days of the 99th Congress, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was passed, President Reagan signing it into law a few days after the Republicans lost control of the Senate. The new law decreed fines for businesses caught hiring illegal aliens, thereby transferring enforcement duties from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to the U.S. business community. The law also granted amnesty to those who could show that they had lived in the U.S. continuously and illegally since before January 1, 1982. (Those who had lived here legally, but without being granted resident-alien status, were not so favored.)

The new law seems to have been enacted in response to a "crisis" that existed mainly in the minds of the nation's editorial writers (with the *Wall Street Journal* a notable exception). It is striking, for example, that throughout the six-year push to enact this legislation, it did not receive overwhelming support from legislators in such high-immigration states as Florida and California—states whose economies were doing well and whose unemployment rates were below average. The great supporter of the legislation was Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, a state where illegal aliens can scarcely be said to exist. In short, it is not clear what "crisis" the bill was supposed to correct. High as it may seem, immigration to the U.S. today, as a percentage of the overall population, is less than half what it was in the first two decades of this century.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act seems to have been one of those rare pieces of legislation enacted not so much in response to special-interest pressure as out of a sense of civic duty: as it were, the good-government people getting together and doing the right thing for a change, not because the people demanded it but because the country needed it. As we have seen in recent years, it is just such legislation that frequently turns out to have unintended consequences.

One of the main lobbyists for the law was Roger Conner, the forty-year-old executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). A "graduate" of the environmental movement in Michigan, Conner has conservatives on his staff and has himself become more interested in free-market ideas of late. When I saw him recently he told me he was intrigued by a book by William A. Donahue that is in some ways critical of the ACLU. On the immigration issue, the ACLU has pursued the general goal of opening America's door to as many foreigners as possible, viewing every newcomer as an accredited victim with "minority" accusation privileges. Environmentalists, who tend to think of North America as potentially a very nice wildlife habitat if only fewer humans lived here, rarely side with the ACLU on this issue.

CONNER downplayed the role of trade unions in passing the legislation, even though unions surely benefit if foreign workers are shut out of American jobs. He said the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is "overwhelmingly made up of illegals and recent immigrants," and its spokesmen are "avid defenders of aliens' rights." Los Angeles locals of the United Auto Workers were against employer sanctions. Union support for the bill came from the top—Lane Kirkland lobbied for it, as did Ken Blaylock of the American Federation of Government Employees—but their support was "tepid," said Conner.

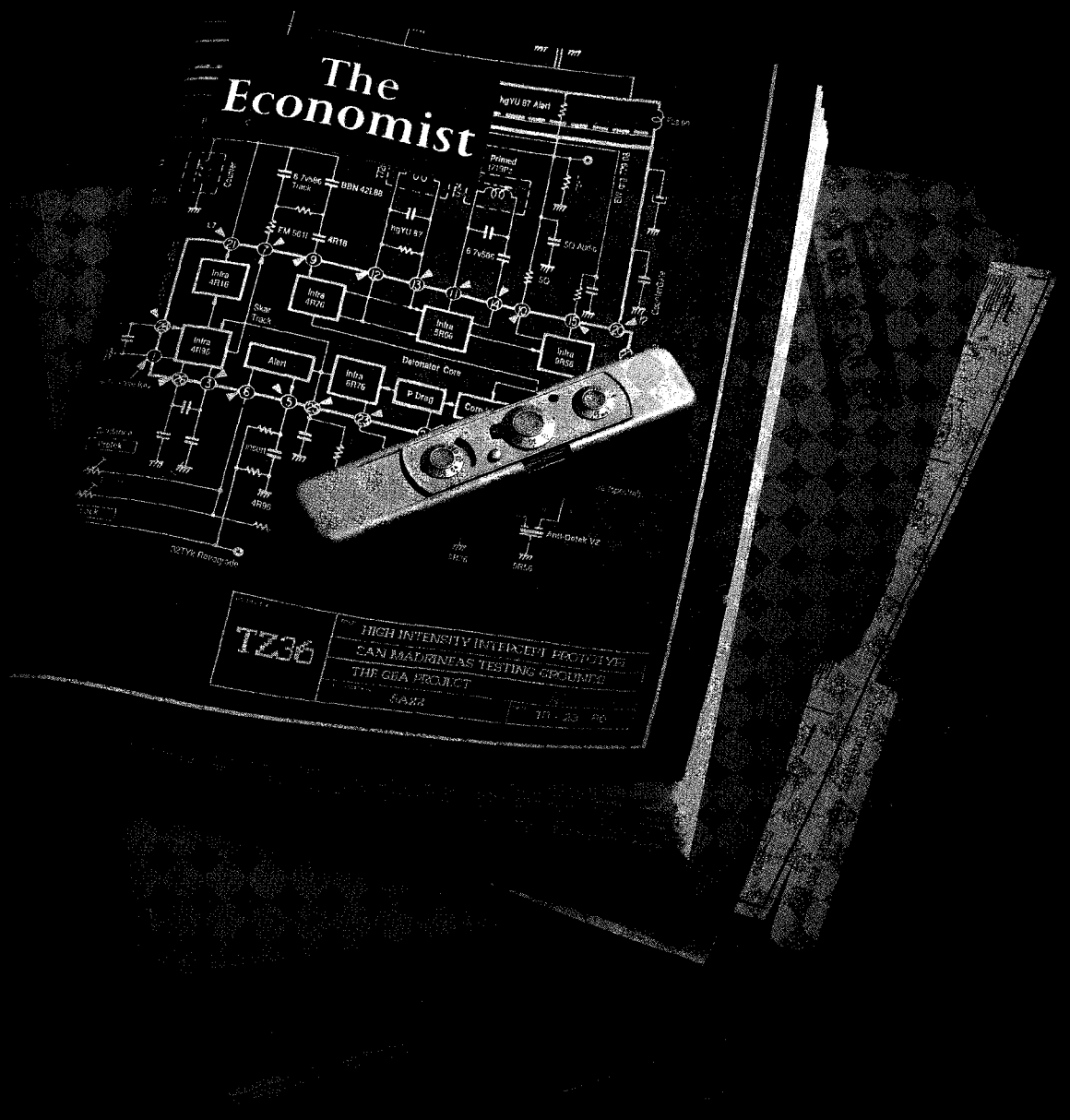
The main push for the immigration bill came from what could be called the American establishment: Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame; Robert McNamara; Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis; Gerald Ford; Stewart Udall; Charlton Heston. Former Attorney General William French Smith lobbied for it out of the FAIR offices. "FAIR's role was to help develop the language through which this came to be perceived as centrist, good-government legislation," Conner said.

How is it working? Virginia Lamp Thomas, a labor-relations lawyer who works on immigration issues for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, says that the new law "is a social experiment, and employers are the guinea pigs," the experiment being to determine "whether the economy is dependent on undocumented workers." To date, she said, there had been "no hue and cry by employers to repeal the law." Much would depend, she thought, on the strictness of INS enforcement. Would the agency, for example, hold employers responsible for the authenticity of documents used by employees claiming legal status? (There are reports of forged-document entrepreneurs doing a handsome business.) If not, she said, "then you might see a big loophole."

Some employers have already been fined by the INS for hiring illegal workers, but it is not clear yet that the law has had any great impact. In August 1987, the U.S. Border Patrol apprehended 54,991 aliens in the San Diego area, compared with 56,724 in August 1986. Apprehensions along the U.S.-Mexican border have dropped by 30 per cent, from 1.6 million in fiscal year 1986 to 1.1 million in the fiscal year just ended. One possible explanation is that in the year preceding the passage of the legislation the Border Patrol, on instructions from Washington, made a large number of arrests in order to magnify the sense of "crisis," thereby putting pressure on congressmen to do something about it. Economic conditions in Mexico are also a key variable in accounting for the number of border crossings. Perhaps employer sanctions will discour-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International intelligence.



Privileged information. The intrigues and implications of world politics, business, and finance. The Economist is the competitive advantage a half-million American readers would like classified "Top Secret."

The most respected newsweekly in the world.

10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. 212/541-5730

For subscription information call 800/628-0677. Residents of Tennessee and Canada call 615/254-4724.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

age some northward-bound Mexicans from believing they can find jobs, but it is also possible that the precedent of one amnesty law will encourage aliens to believe there will be another in the future.

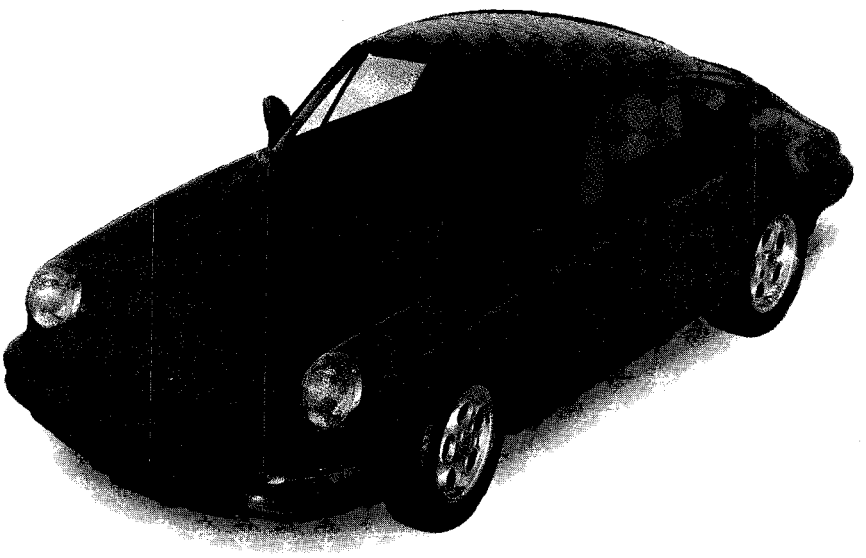
The farm-labor shortages and rotting crops predicted by opponents of the bill have not materialized. "As California's grape harvest enters its peak, the state's central valley reports that 75,000 workers are harvesting a heavy crop of 1.24 billion pounds," the *Wall Street Journal* reported in late September. Washington state had a record apple crop, attracting some 45,000 seasonal workers instead of the usual 38,000. And according to a report by Gerry Mackie of FAIR, "One Oregon strawberry grower who repeatedly proclaimed ruin in the national media actually harvested a 40 per cent larger crop this year." Overall, strawberry production in the state was up 18 per cent.

I spoke to two or three California farmers, none of whom maintained he had been hurt by the new law. One, in the Sacramento area, said he used to hire illegals but was worn down by repeated Border Patrol field raids (the new law requires agents to obtain search warrants before making such raids). Then he hired some of César Chavez's unionized workers. But they would walk off the job if it required too much stooping, or if the weather was too hot, or too cold. Finally he invested a huge sum in a grape harvester and today makes do with far fewer workers.

I spoke to another farmer at an "Alien Amnesty Legal Clinic" outside Sacramento (he refused to give his name, farmers in general seeming to be wary of any publicity on this issue). He was there to help one of his workers prepare the papers necessary to stay on the job. He said of his workers: "I know a bunch of 'em going to go into construction when they get their green cards. You can't stop 'em and you can't blame 'em not wanting to fight that dust and mud." He was indirectly predicting a farm-labor shortage next year or further down the road. A Stanford student working part-time at the same clinic also said that a farm shortage could develop next year, since a deliberate

'I know a bunch of 'em going to go into construction when they get their green cards. You can't stop 'em and you can't blame 'em not wanting to fight that dust and mud.' He was indirectly predicting a farm-labor shortage next year or further down the road

Where we got the idea that something small could be powerful.



C&C Computers and Communications NEC is a registered trademark of NEC Corporation. NEC has no affiliation with Porsche.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loophole in the law allowed illegal aliens to keep working here as usual until September 1. He himself had been working in the fields for $5 an hour for three weeks and said of the experience: "I don't think any American who has been through high school would want to work in those fields."

All this points to one sure result of the new law. The prospect of having to pay higher wages to attract labor will compel employers to be more resourceful and will encourage entrepreneurs to invent labor-saving devices. In fact, this is already happening. The farmer who wouldn't give his name rattled off a list of crops whose harvest now requires far fewer workers: "Tomatoes—now automated. Sugar beets —automated just about. Carrots, radishes, potatoes, sunflowers—automated. Grapes for winery use—automated. Asparagus we're having problems with." The main crops that still need pickers are table fruits that bruise easily.

A story in the *Agribusiness Raisin News* this July tells of a Fresno farmer who was spurred on by the new immigration law to devise an "innovative raisin harvester." The farmer was quoted as saying: "I just knew there had to be a better way of making raisins than working with all the people the way we have been."

Jude Wanniski of Polyconomics says of the new law: "The labor problem it causes forces employers to be more creative. If they are going to make those profits they will have to start hiring people who otherwise would not be hired. Just because the U.S. is the land of opportunity doesn't mean the whole world should move here." Rather, he said, we should help the rest of the world become lands of opportunity.

STORIES IN THE Washington, D.C., papers tell of suburban businesses making arrangements to hire inner-city unemployed, providing special transportation in addition to wages. Yet there may be limits to how creative employers can be. In the Washington area, as in many parts of the U.S., there continues to be a labor shortage in fast-food chains, even though they now pay well over the minimum wage. "Basically there's a job out there for all who are willing to work and have some degree of honesty," said Richard Rahn, chief economist of the U.S. Chamber. "An increasing number of our members can't get workers." He said there was even a looming shortage of workers in the well-paid "association business" in Washington, referring to lobbyists.

To date about one million people have applied for amnesty. At the present rate two million may have applied by the time the offer expires in May 1988. The largest number of applicants lives in the Southwest (the Los Angeles office of the INS has received over one-third of the applications). By mid October only six thousand illegal immigrants in D.C. and Virginia had come forward seeking amnesty, although it had been reported that 200,000 illegals lived in the area. Another surprise is that in the first four months of the year-long amnesty period, very few Asians have applied.

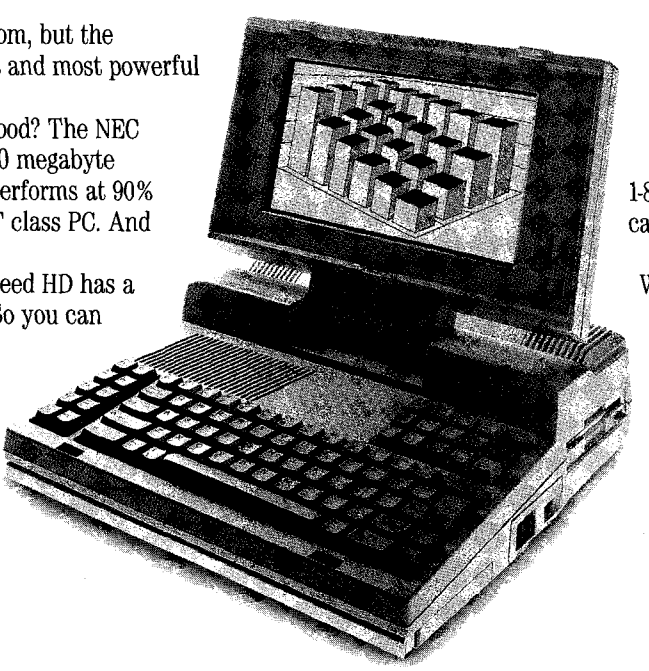
The INS has been under pressure from a number of groups to expand the amnesty administratively, in particular by extending it to family members of qualified applicants. The Sen-

What we did with it.

You won't hear it say vroom, but the MultiSpeed HD is the fastest and most powerful laptop computer around.

What's it got under the hood? The NEC 16-bit V-30 processor and a 20 megabyte hard disk. Which means it performs at 90% of the level of an original AT class PC. And it's PC compatible.

What's more, the MultiSpeed HD has a brilliant backlit EL screen. So you can easily read it anywhere you choose to use it.



And when you're on the move, the Multi's easy to handle. With switchable battery/AC power.

For product literature or the MultiSpeed dealer nearest you call 1-800-447-4700. Or for technical details call NEC Home Electronics (USA) Inc. at 1-800-NEC-SOFT.

We think you'll agree that the MultiSpeed HD is one hot little machine.

MultiSpeed HD

Take the Multi and run.

NEC®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ate recently voted 55 to 45 not to extend such amnesty to ineligible spouses, and the INS has likewise resisted a relaxation of the rules. But in practice "illegal" spouses and children will be in little or no danger of deportation from the U.S. as long as they avoid the workplace.

The new law says that successful amnesty applicants can't receive welfare for five years, but immigration experts expect this to be challenged in court: the ACLU even sued in Los Angeles to obtain an injunction against a prosecutor who had exposed voting by illegal aliens in L.A. County. Last year the Reagan Administration attempted to exclude illegal aliens from subsidized housing but was bitterly opposed in Congress by Henry Gonzalez, Ed Roybal, Robert Garcia, and others. Representative Mario Biaggi said on the House floor that the amendment was unconscionable—40 per cent of the people living in federally subsidized housing in New York were illegals. Later a city councilman in Los Angeles, Ernani Bernardi, discovered that a similar percentage of people living in government housing in Los Angeles were illegals, giving the lie to the oft-repeated claim that illegals don't go on welfare.

There is a move afoot to extend a new amnesty, called extended voluntary departure, to 700,000 Salvadorans and Nicaraguans now in the United States. In July the House (dividing essentially along party lines) approved legislation to this effect 237 to 181. The measure has also been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee, with nay votes only from Simpson and Strom Thurmond. The bill calls for a government study of human-rights violations in El Salvador and Nicaragua over the next two years, during which time deportation of Salvadorans and Nicaraguans would be suspended. Most believe that if the law is enacted—and Senator DeConcini claims to have the votes in the Senate to pass it—then those affected will be able to stay on here indefinitely. (Other foreign nationals who enjoy "extended voluntary departure" include citizens of: Uganda, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba, Chile, and the Dominican Republic.)

Opponents of the bill, such as Representative Dan Lungren of California, argue that most illegal Salvadorans and Nicaraguans emigrate for "economic," not human-rights, reasons. But this distinction is invalid. The deprivation of the right to earn a living is among the more serious human-rights transgressions. In El Salvador, starting in 1979, the U.S. specifically encouraged a policy of socialist "inoculation" against Communism involving a destruction of agricultural property rights, which was bound to end in disaster. In an interview that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* a week before the House voted on the new bill, a recently retired member of the Salvadoran army commented: "I ask myself why the U.S., the most powerful nation on the face of the earth, the major defender of human rights and individual integrity, has imposed a series of socialist measures on us. Why didn't they experiment on a small state like Vermont? . . . We have been a guinea pig for a socializing experiment that has only served to ruin the nation."

As a result of externally encouraged socialism (by Cuba and the Soviet Union in the case of Nicaragua; by the U.S. in the case of El Salvador), 10 per cent of the population of both countries has fled, and many of these refugees are now here. The Democrats originally promoted socialism in El Salvador, but it could be said that they now want to make amends by taking in the Salvadorans whose lives they ruined. The Republicans, by contrast, don't seem to know the score. They went along with the Carter Administration policies of land seizure and now want to keep the Salvadorans out.

The Reagan Administration is opposed to the new legislation, and President Reagan may veto it. The *Miami Herald* has pointed out the irony of sponsoring a Contra army against an oppressive government and then questioning "the political motives that those very victims have for seeking refuge in this country." In 1985 the INS denied 4,363 of the 4,910 political-asylum applications filed by Nicaraguans.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy has now introduced a bill in Congress to expand the number of immigrants legally admitted by fifty thousand a year, thereby ameliorating a serious defect in the current law.

The present criterion for admitting immigrants is very different from the national-origin quotas, allegedly "racist," that persisted until 1965. The earlier system attracted primarily young, economically motived males (at least until the quotas were reduced in the 1920s). By contrast, the existing system is nepotistic—essentially a family-reunification program masquerading as immigration policy. In 1985, for example, 570,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of these, 204,000 were admitted in a category that is unlimited—the immediate relatives (spouses, parents, and minor children) of U.S. citizens. This category has been growing by about 10 per cent a year, and has the aspect of a daisy chain. As new immigrants become citizens they can bring their families in without limitation. And marriage brokers have been arranging partners, for a fee, for illegals who want to stay here. As a result a Marriage Fraud bill became law last year. An illegal whose marriage entitles him to stay in the U.S. must report back with his spouse to the immigration authorities two years later to show that they are still together—thereby taking the marriage vows rather more seriously than they are taken in Las Vegas, or indeed the Episcopal Church. (How long before the ACLU files suit against the law on the gounds that by encouraging a Christian view of mar-

Last year the Administration attempted to exclude illegal aliens from subsidized housing but was bitterly opposed in Congress. Representative Mario Biaggi said that the amendment was unconscionable—40 per cent of the people living in government housing in New York were illegals

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

riage, it violates the separation of church and state?)

In addition, there is an annual quota of 270,000 people who are granted immigrant visas to the United States. Eighty per cent of this quota is allocated to more distant relatives of people who have already been admitted, whether they are U.S. citizens or still only legal aliens. The remaining 20 per cent of the 270,000 quota, or 54,000 slots, are allocated to those without family connections, but who have certain professional skills. Finally, there are refugees and asylees, the number of whom admitted each year is determined by the President and the Congress. (This year the total number is 72,500.)

Out of the 570,000 immigrants admitted in 1985 (there were 601,000 in 1986), fully three-fourths were family-reunification cases. It is, in short, extremely difficult to come to the U.S. as an immigrant unless you already have close family members here. And those family members already here are by definition recent immigrants. No relationship more distant than spouse, child, parent, or sibling counts, remember, and in the "fifth preference" sibling category there is a seven-year waiting list to get in. (That is why the Congress is reluctant to amend the amnesty to admit ineligible family members of those who do qualify for amnesty: such people would go to the head of a line in which others have been patiently waiting for years.)

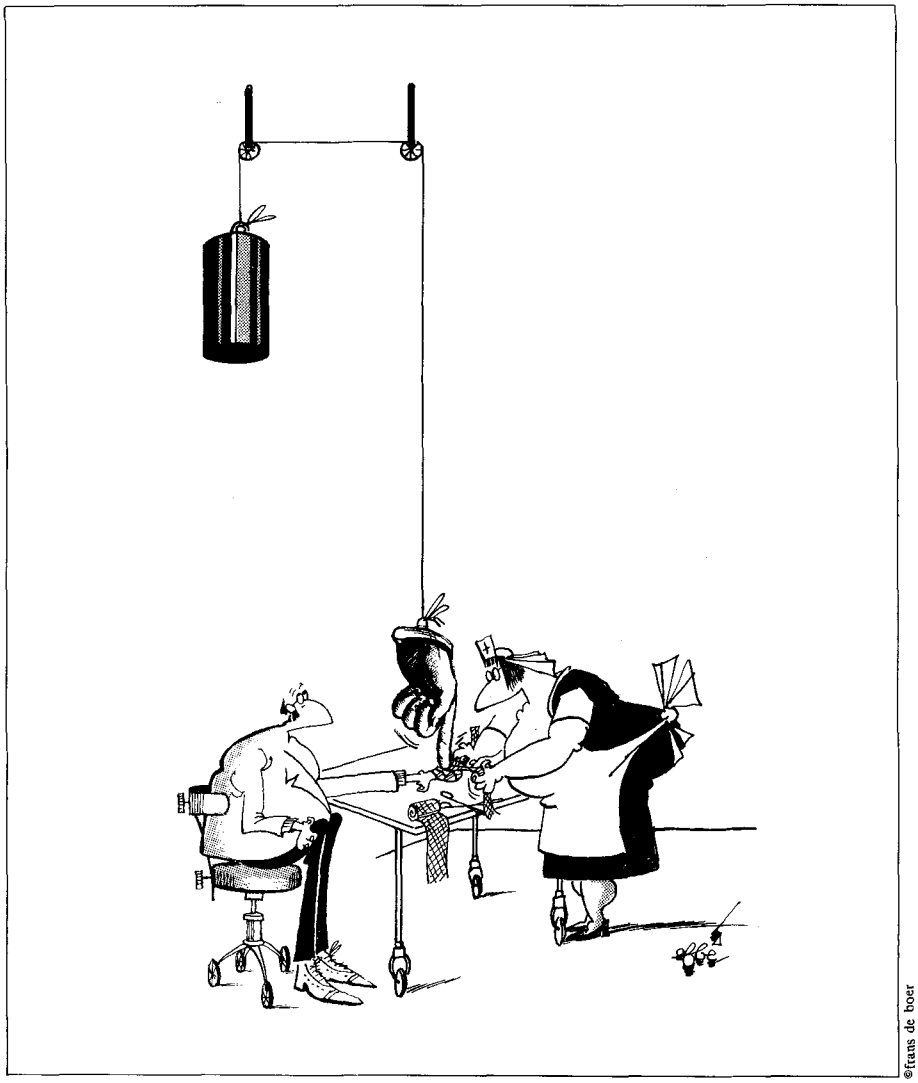
It follows that current immigration policy, in a disguised way, gives strong preference to those ethnic and national groups that have recently arrived here. Incidentally, the five countries sending the largest numbers of legal immigrants to the U.S. in 1984 and 1985 were: Mexico, the Philippines, South Korea, Vietnam, and India. No European country is in the top ten, and only the UK is in the top fifteen.

"Family reunification has become a code word for ethnic preference," Roger Conner told me, and he is right. The self-interest of recent immigrant groups masquerades as the superior value of dedication to family unity. Conner says he sometimes asks representatives of these groups: " 'Where is your program to help people return home so that your families can be together?' That shuts them up."

As can be imagined, Senator Kennedy had best tread warily if he is to enter this ethnic-minority minefield and threaten the structure of privileges that is in place. And that is why he wants to expand the system, rather than disturb the existing immigration entitlements of Hispanics and Asians. But why does he want to do this at all? Because destructive tax policies in Ireland have sent a wave of illegal Irish immigrants to this country—an estimated 100,000 of them, many now in the Boston area. (Last summer *Getting into America*, by a U.S. immigration lawyer, was number one on the best-seller list in Ireland.)

In a "Dear Colleague" letter on July 30, Kennedy noted "the advantages of the bill," among them the creation of "a new expanded 'independent' category with fifty thousand additional visas for older sources of immigration—especially the traditional ethnic flows from Ireland, Italy, other nations of Western Europe . . ." The proposal includes a "point-system for non-preference visas," which includes thirty points for countries "adversely affected" by the 1965 act (defined as including Ireland) and ten points for those with an "ability to speak and read English." This also allegedly includes the Irish, and could give them an edge over applicants from many other parts of the world. (Points needed to apply: seventy.)

Senator Kennedy doesn't often do the right thing, but I believe this is one of those rare occasions. I say this as an immigrant from Britain, admitted in 1962 before the current system went into effect. Under present law it is unlikely that I would have been able to live in this country unless I had availed myself of one of the "illegal" routes. The present system needs to be changed, and my only disagreement with Kennedy would be to suggest that an additional fifty thousand is not enough. Why not make it one hundred thousand? □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABROAD

OSLO *Border Raids*

The Norwegian Foreign Ministry has been worrying for some time about raids across its 122-mile Arctic frontier with the Soviet Union—not raids by Soviets into Norwegian territory, but the other way around. This stretch of international border is normally a zone of serenity. Although Norway is a member of NATO, it deliberately does not allow military maneuvers in the border zone, and keeps only 150 frontier guards on duty there. Most border-crossing is done by herds of reindeer. But occasionally, exuberant Norwegians want to test their daring. "It's basically just guys who have had a few beers and want to show who's toughest," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "So they swim across the river and come back with a trophy—a sign or a border post." (In the winter the raiders use snow scooters.) So far the Soviets have not reacted noticeably, other than to inform the Norwegians of the raids during one of the monthly joint meetings of frontier personnel.

GRENOBLE *Tram Redux*

The tram, the smaller, lighter European version of the trolley car, is making a comeback in urban France. A new system has just been built in this mountain-girt town, which was the scene of the 1968 Winter Olympics. The new line, six miles long and designed to carry 63,000 passengers a day, is already rearranging the commercial activity of Grenoble as it polarizes local travel, redefines shopping and automobile use, and influences work habits. A second line will be built in Grenoble in the near future, and the Atlantic port city of Nantes acquired a new tram system in 1985. But modern trams are expensive, especially as they entail major restructuring of roadways, amounting in Grenoble's case to a third of the total cost. That makes them difficult to sell abroad—in Los Angeles, for example, where the city authorities are considering new forms of public transportation. So the tram, despite its silence, efficiency, and good looks (panoramic windshield and streamlined blue and grey body), may be restricted to medium-sized French cities, where it benefits from widespread popular acceptance and healthy government subsidies.

AMBOISE *Millennium*

It's a thousand years since Hugues Capet ascended the French throne; two hundred since his descendant Louis XVI, otherwise known as "Citizen Capet," was executed by the Revolution; and almost 150 since France has had any king at all. But recently, at this historic Loire chateau, a latter-day Capetian—the Count of Paris, present head of the French royal family—designated his grandson the official pretender and, if things work out, the next King of France. The count, 79, named the 22-year-old Jean, Duke of Vendôme, in a "dynastic act" recognizing him as heir to his family's historic claim. "If, one day, circumstances lead the French people to award me national responsibilities," the young prince told an audience of three thousand, "it will be because of my work and, I hope, the service I will have given, that I will deserve such confidence." A poll taken earlier this year shows that 17 per cent of the French favor a re-establishment of the monarchy. One man absent from the gathering at Amboise was the town's mayor, Michel Debré, a former prime minister. Officially he was "on a trip abroad arranged long in advance." In reality, according to his entourage, Debré had not wished to be present at a royal event "which was, in his view, anti-republican."

MADRID *Equine Epidemic*

An outburst of equine fever has been ravaging horses, mules, and donkeys in several localities in Spain. The disease is thought to have been brought into the country by six wild zebras imported from South Africa for a safari park near the capital. Equine fever, usually transmitted by mosquitoes, attacks horses' lungs and circulatory systems. It has been unknown in Europe for at least twenty years, and the vaccine is unobtainable locally. Even if it were obtainable, its usefulness is debatable: it has damaging side effects, and seriously weakens horses for indefinite periods of time. Spain's most successful race horse at the moment, Teresa, who has been racing in Paris, has been kept in France because of the epidemic.

MOSCOW *Red Lightning*

One not unexpected result of Mikhail Gorbachev's clampdown on the sale of alcohol has been a rapid increase in home distilling. A sign of the rising production of moonshine is the sudden 14 per cent increase in sugar consumption. This is what Gorbachev himself angrily told farmers in a visit to the countryside near Moscow recently when they complained they could not get enough sugar to make jam out of their fruit. He said that only the huge production of illegal spirits (*samogon*) could explain why Soviet citizens consume 97 pounds of sugar a year, while Americans only use 64 pounds. Semi-prohibition has made engineering geniuses of still operators. One man built an entirely computerized still that does everything automatically. Another, with less equipment but just as much inventiveness, made a fully operating still out of a vacuum cleaner.

Al Ross / Rotheo

"Brazil isn't repaying its loans on time, Mrs. Wimbly. That's why we sock you with a $15 penalty every time you write an overdraft."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WAR AGAINST REASON

IT SEEMS a cruel trick of history that we are being asked these questions just when we have lost our capacity to answer or even discuss them. Should we permit the farming of fetuses for neural tissue? Ought we to allow the use of laboratory-produced human embryos in medical experimentation or in the testing of drugs? Why not declare the comatose and terminally ill to be legally dead so that they can be used for spare parts to help others? Since courts are now allowing the withdrawal of food and hydration, would it not be more humane to take quick and direct action to bring "wrongful life" to an end? Given the scarcity of resources and the senseless increase of chronic diseases, would it not be advisable to decide that people of a certain age, say 85, will no longer be given life-extending care?

These and many questions like them are now, or soon will be, in political play. They are called the "life questions," and most politicians are terrified of them because they are inescapably moral questions, and nobody wants to get entangled in that can of worms. About morality we are, or pretend to be, tongue-tied and stammering, lest we be suspected of attempting to "impose our values" on somebody else.

Better, say the politicians, to leave these questions to the courts. The courts have the competence to settle them, as was so famously demonstrated in the 1973 abortion decision. And, of course, the courts are quietly deciding such questions today, although every once in a while such decisions break out of the courtroom and appear on the front page. As when a New Jersey court rules that a woman must surrender her baby because a stranger had paid for it with a dollop of semen and ten thousand in hard cash. As when an Indiana court permits parents to starve to death their handicapped infant, even though dozens of couples want to adopt it. As when a Michigan court decides that it is in the "best interest" of a middle-aged patient to die, even though the evidence suggests he wanted to live. Such grotesqueries are today's "hard cases"; tomorrow, by benefit of precedent, we will find them ever so much easier.

Again and again we are told that such decisions are forced on us because of a technological breakthrough. More often they are indulged because of a cultural breakdown. It is generally acknowledged that these decisions involve a "moral component." But to deal with that we have a growing cadre of "medical ethicists," who, with notable exceptions, produce ever more sophisticated rationalizations for turning the unthinkable into the routinely doable. The prohibited becomes the permissible becomes the expected. "But that would be murder!" is an objection that loses its force the second time around. It's much harder to say it later if it wasn't said earlier. A hit man for Murder Inc. was on trial once and the DA asked him how he felt about what he did. He in turn asked the DA how he had felt the first time he tried a case. The DA allowed as how he was nervous but he got used to it. "It's the same with murder," said the defendant. "You get used to it."

In 1984 the Warnock Commission, asked to address these life questions, made its report to the British government. More important than its recommendations was its rationale and what it says about moral rationality (as distinct from rationalization). Dame Mary Warnock, herself a moral philosopher at Cambridge, says the commission operated on the premise that "nobody is an expert in morality." In matters of life and death, of birth and family, there is no right or wrong. "These are areas which are central to morality, and everyone has a right to judge for himself," writes Dame Mary. There is neither moral truth nor moral reason nor binding communal tradition, there is only individual moral preference. That idea perfectly exemplifies what Alasdair MacIntyre calls "modern emotivism" run amock. Dame Mary's insouciance is unruffled by the awareness that "both medical science and opinion within society may advance with startling rapidity." What will be permitted is what the market will bear, and the market is determined by technology and those who control it—tempered only by the marvelously malleable moral authority that is public opinion.

The Vatican's Offense

LITTLE WONDER that the Vatican's recent instruction on artificial reproduction and related matters met with such hostility. In truth, it was more respectfully received by the general media than by most of the makers of progressive Catholic opinion. The *New York Times* and others said that the Vatican had raised a useful alarm about ominous developments that call for a more informed public discussion. But finally, it was said, Rome has little to contribute to that discussion, despite the fact that its statement is determinedly public in nature. The offense of the Vatican instruction is not so much in its conclusions as in its premise. The premise is that preference is subordinate to truth and truth is accessible to reason. Reasonable people may disagree about the truth, but the reality of disagreement does not imply the unreality of truth. The Vatican report invites rational deliberation; the Warnock report invites resignation to the vagaries of opinion. The war against life was first a war against reason, and it continues as a war against life because it is a war against reason. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE TRUTH ABOUT TOM WOLFE

Richard Vigilante

The Bonfire of the Vanities, by Tom Wolfe (Farrar, 659 pp., $19.95)

ONCE—AND, AS FAR as I can tell, only once, and that was 14 years ago—Tom Wolfe got reckless. In 1973, in a 52-page essay introducing a collection of the best of the New Journalism, the veil slipped for an instant, and the high priest of vanity-of-vanities journalism, who has made a small fortune demonstrating the entertainment value of other people's hubris, revealed the truth to the entire world: he takes himself seriously.

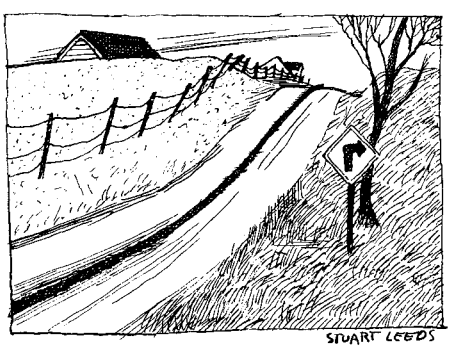
He didn't mean to do it. Originally the essay was to have been your usual five-page pro-forma preface. But as with so many of his subjects over the years, the temptation to confess, no matter what horrors of vanity, ambition, fear, or hope might thereby be exposed, got the better of him, and he told the whole story. He and the other guys whose work was collected in that volume weren't just journalists, and what they were doing wasn't just journalism, not even new journalism. No, they were—the new literature.

The old literature had flubbed it. The novelists, in a fit of self-absorption, had ignored the essential truth of the social-realist novel from Fielding to Joyce, that the novelist is first and foremost not a creator but an observer, not a mystic but a journalist, dependent on his ability to engage, no matter how critically, his society. After World War II the realist novel had been abandoned for "every kind of novel you could imagine. . . . Novels of ideas, Freudian novels, surrealistic novels, Kafkaesque novels, and more recently the catatonic novel or novel of immobility."

Not even the magnificent farce of the Sixties could lure the serious novelists back to reality. But never fear. Tom Wolfe and his buddies were taking up the slack, inventing a new kind of journalism that, using all the essential techniques of the realistic novel—scenario, point of view, dialogue, etc.—would "wipe out the novel as literature's main event."

The whole essay is like that: "The early days of this new journalism were beginning to look like . . . the early days of the realistic novel in England." He confesses to "grand ideas about a new journalism. . . . Journalism could aspire to more than mere emulation of those aging giants, the novelists." Using the techniques of the New Journalism, "the writer is one step closer to the absolute involvement of the reader that Henry James and James Joyce dreamed of and never achieved."

And it's not just vanity—it's worse, self/soul-revealing-wise. It's sincerity. Tom Wolfe, we discover, is a do-gooder, a man with a program. All this time, while we thought that Junior Johnson, and the Girl of the Year, and the Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby, and the Pepermint Lounge, and that guy chanting "hernia hernia hernia hernia hernia" as he loses his mind at the roulette wheel in "Las Vegas!" were just neato keen, Tom Wolfe was *saving American literature*. Moreover, the anthology is a powerful reminder that, at the time at least, Wolfe was right. Twenty-one writers, including Wolfe, are represented; half again as many obvious choices are omitted. With very few exceptions all succeed in using journalism as the basis for non-fiction novels and short stories far more intelligent, perceptive, challenging, and emotionally powerful than the work of all but a handful of contemporary novelists.



In 1984 the prophet of the New Journalism announced he was writing a novel. Serialized in *Rolling Stone* over the course of a year, it has just now been released in hardback, after a heavy and not always well advised rewrite. A defeat? An admission that novels are still where the action is?

James Gardner has written on art, literature, and film for Commentary, The New Criterion, *and other publications.*

William R. Hawkins is research director of The South Foundation and a policy analyst for the U.S. Business and Industrial Council.

Wayne Lutton is research director for both The Summit, in Manitou Springs, Colorado, and the Coalition for Public Health, in Washington, D.C. He earlier reviewed the AIDS report of the U.S. Surgeon General for NR *(Jan. 30, 1987).*

Joe Mysak is assistant managing editor of The Bond Buyer.

Richard Vigilante, a NATIONAL REVIEW *Contributor, was until recently* NR*'s article editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's how you can make a Conservative out of someone you know

Put *National Review* in his hands. It's about the quickest way you can find to turn a *potential* conservative into an *actual* conservative. We know, because many of our regular subscribers have been doing just that for years with great success. Of course, we don't expect you to brave hail or high water to do it—we'll be more than happy to take care of that part ourselves. What we *can't* do is locate these potential conservatives. We don't know who they are, but *you* do. They're your friends, relatives, neighbors, business and social acquaintances. Think about it for a moment, right now. Pick someone you know (who doesn't already get NR) who thinks pretty much as you do about taxes, the state of the economy, big government, his children's education, etc. He may not realize it yet but he'd be vitally interested in what conservatives have to say about these things (and where do conservatives say it better than in *National Review*?). Rip out the card facing this page, NOW, and use it to introduce NR to your potential conservative at the special introductory rate of only $17.95 for the next 15 issues. He'll be glad you did. So will you. So will we. You don't often get a chance to make so many people happy with one stroke of the pen. So do it now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More November Titles: *The Collected Poems of Octavio Paz, 1957-1987* (New Directions, $37.50), edited and translated by Eliot Weinberger, is an eight-hundred-page bilingual edition containing much of the work of the Mexican poet, who is the 1987 recipient of the Ingersoll Prize for literature (awarded by the Rockford Institute in Rockford, Illinois).

In *The Legacy of R. P. Blackmur: Essays, Memoirs, Texts* (Ecco, $18.50), edited by Edward T. Cone, Joseph Frank, and Edmund Keeley, are brought together essays on, and reminiscences of, the great literary critic; plus previously uncollected reviews and articles by the master himself on Aiken, Santayana, Yeats, and Shakespeare.

In *The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs* (Norton, $17.95), Trumbull Higgins argues that the fiasco was caused largely by "the successful deception of the Kennedy Administration" by the CIA, as well as by character flaws in a President who "had the courage neither to carry the operation through nor to cancel it outright."

☐ Coming in December: Of Nicholas Davidson's *The Failure of Feminism* (Prometheus, $24.95), reviewed in this issue (see page 54), George Gilder says, ". . . a stirring new book . . . that takes the debate on male and female to a luminous new level. Davidson shows the way back from the limb and offers an inspiring . . . vision of sexual differentiation and human fulfillment. This is a definitive analysis."

The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: The Finca Vigía Edition (Scribner's, $22.50) consists of seventy stories, including those which appeared in 1938 as *The First Forty-Nine Stories* and the subsequent 21, mostly written at the Hemingway "farm" in Cuba, which he owned from 1939 until 1959. Included in this definitive collection are several previously unpublished works, some of them self-contained episodes from an abandoned novel.

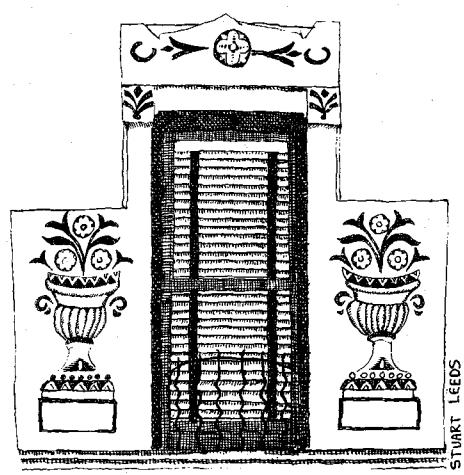
Pound as Wuz: Essays and Lectures on Ezra Pound (Graywolf, $17 hardcover; $9.50 paper) is a collection of essays by James Laughlin on his mentor and friend. Introduction by Hugh Kenner. —CW

No and yes. It is a good novel, but it is also of a piece with his earlier work—his earlier *campaign*—and it further secures Wolfe's place as the most important writer of his generation. He is still saving American literature, and largely for that reason he has written a novel whose flaws are even more fascinating than its successes.

The story is a nightmare set in Manhattan, the great temptress, the status pinnacle of the late twentieth century, the only city in our time (there is always one) capable of reassuring the Children of This World that they really and truly exist, at least as long as they are there and are living . . . The Life. Sherman McCoy lives The Life. He is a top bond trader, pulls down a million a year, and after a big deal whispers to himself that he is a Master of the Universe. But there are problems. For one thing you can't really live The Life in Manhattan on a measly million a year. For another thing, you're a bond trader—a salesman, for goodness' sake. No wonder your wife finds it so easy to emasculate you with her bogus artsy-lefty cultural superiority. And she's getting old. Shouldn't a Master of the Universe have more? More money, a younger woman, perhaps the wife of a richer man. Of course he answers yes, and of course he is destroyed, or perhaps purified, in the attempt.

All the many supporting characters are in the same game, at various levels, including an assistant DA who has an affair because he feels unmanned by his very small—apartment; and they are mostly terrific; and the plot is compelling. No one has portrayed New York Society this accurately and devastatingly since Edith Wharton. In short, Wolfe's first novel has all the virtues you would expect.

As for those interesting defects, true to Wolfe's 1973 manifesto, this really is an experiment in radically journalistic fiction. Wolfe's authorship itself implies a claim that all this has been observed rather than created. The narrator powerfully, and I assume deliberately, reinforces that impression, through constant digressions on the New York scene, from the protocols of Wall Street power, to the etiquette of the furious status competitions of Park Avenue, to the locker-room ethics of the criminal-justice system. All this stuff is entertaining, splendidly written, and acutely observed. Unfortunately, against the background of this constant, if enormously entertaining, sociology lecture the characters sometimes seem a bit like audio-visual aids —trotted out to verify the thesis. A tad less sociology and a bit more dialogue would have made the same characters much more real.



There is a more fundamental problem. In that 1973 essay, Wolfe made the crucial claim that the New Journalism might become more emotionally powerful than the realistic novel, not because of its claim to be true—the novel makes the same claim—but because of its claim to be factual. "It enjoys an advantage so obvious, so built in, one almost forgets what a power it has: the simple fact that the reader knows all this actually happened." In Wolfe at his non-fiction best, this power, always just beneath the surface, bursts forth in a few dazzling epiphanies in the course of a piece. Though the epiphanies function as symbols, their power relies on the claim that they are facts. Start a *novel* with an insane gambler chanting "hernia hernia hernia" at a roulette table and you are, Wolfe would say, a "fabulist" who has abandoned realism for cheap absurdist thrills.

Wolfe doesn't fall into that trap; instead he mostly drops the epiphanies while maintaining an essentially reportorial approach to his descriptions of scene and society. The net result—by Wolfe's usual standards, anyway—is a bit flat, like old journalism.

So is the experiment a success? Well, let us say that Wolfe is a success, if we are to grade him by his deep, dark, secret do-gooder agenda. With *Bonfire*, Wolfe the literary politician has made an enormous contribution toward breaking the literary Buddhists' death-grip on the serious novel. He has demonstrated that the tedium of three decades' worth of serious fiction derives not from its seriousness but from its solipsism. And he has done this with a best-seller, which is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say he has recruited lots of potential defectors.

He has been recruiting for 25 years. The downtown lit crowd—McInerney, Janowitz, Ellis, for example—are all direct literary descendants of the New Journalism, and of Wolfe in particular. The style footprints, of course, are obvious. More importantly, they are social realists all, with a real interest in the world around them; their work is entertaining, with occasional genuine emotional insights. In short, they are all pretty good writers, and it is upon pretty good writers that great literary eras are founded.

Largely because of Wolfe's efforts, it is finally safe to predict that the social-realist novel will soon re-emerge as an accepted and perhaps dominant force on the serious-fiction scene. Not that he has been alone; American fiction has been so bad for so long we tend to forget how much good work has been done. But Wolfe is the most contagious force the good guys have. Things are looking up. □

LEAD BLANKET

Joe Mysak

Freedom, by William Safire (Doubleday, 1,125 pp., $24.95)

WILLIAM SAFIRE'S *Freedom* is an epic novel of ideas. Critical wags have suggested that both kinds of fiction should be outlawed on general principle, and they have a point. Certainly, taken together, as evidenced by *Freedom*, they are deadly.

Freedom covers the years 1861 to 1863 and is, according to its subtitle, a "novel of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War." It traces Lincoln's progress toward issuing the Emancipation Proclamation; ultimately, it is about Lincoln as a politician, and about the limits of Executive power. The author's theme, he said some time back, is "how much freedom must be taken away from individuals in order to protect the freedom of the nation." For his part, Lincoln never wavered from his essential defense of the Union, saying early on, "I consider the central idea pervading this struggle is the necessity to prove that popular government is not an absurdity," even at the cost of trampling the Constitution.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse in every situation.

Now you can learn to speak Spanish just as these diplomatic personnel do— with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course. You'll learn Latin American Spanish recorded by native speakers.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn Spanish at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The course consists of a series of cassettes and accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace – testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Programmatic Spanish Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I: Basic.** 12 cassettes (17 hr.), manual, and 464-p. text, $135.

☐ **Volume II: Intermediate.** 8 cassettes (12 hr.), manual, and 614-p. text, $120.

(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name, address, and check or money order, or charge to any major credit card by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

130 courses in 46 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 15th year.

Audio-Forum
Room 1264
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

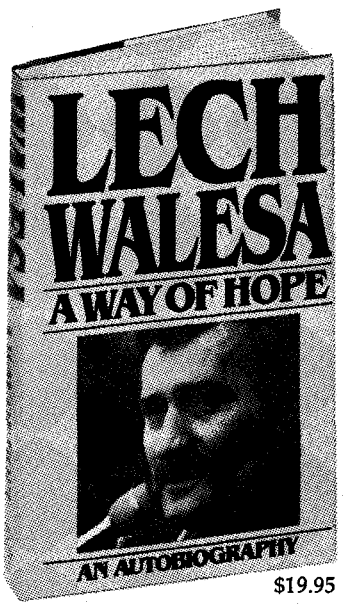
AUDIO-FORUM®

He rewrote the history of Poland.

Now he has written the extraordinary story of his life.

Clandestinely written by the Nobel laureate and Solidarity leader... an opportunity to *witness* a great social revolution in the words of the man who has contributed an heroic and lasting chapter to contemporary history.

"Eloquently and simply portrays brave citizens pitted against political tyranny...."
—Time



HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC.
521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10175

$19.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Heady stuff, indeed, and not the typical fare of epic historical novels. To bring in the "epic" side of things, Safire amasses a cast of some twenty multifarious players, all of whom, we are led to believe, wrestle with the heavy philosophical lumber of Executive privilege and secession every day.

The cast, all shown in period photographs (a nice touch), ranges from Lincoln and his much-maligned wife, to pamphleteer Anna Ella Carroll; in between we meet former Vice President John C. Breckinridge; the Blair family; the lobbyist Thurlow Weed; Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase and his scheming, vixenish daughter, Kate; Lincoln's private secretary, John Hay; the photographer Mathew Brady; General George B. McClellan and his wife, Nellie; Cabinet members Gideon Welles, William Seward, Edwin Stanton—and so on. Some of their doings are imaginary, some not.

The characters, between various episodes of sexual longing more fit for a television mini-series, talk, and talk, and talk, carefully framing their opinions on slavery, politics, Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus, and the nature of battle. For the most part, Safire uses their own words, as recorded in letters, diaries, memoirs, and minutes of Cabinet meetings, among other documented sources. This technique may enhance factual accuracy but does nothing for style: the written word rarely translates well into dialogue.

This all makes for pretty bad fiction, if some fascinating reading for Civil War buffs. In fact, the most irresistible part of *Freedom* is the 133-page "underbook," in which Safire "cites his sources, points out controversies that have ripened for a century among historians, justifies his own judgments, and makes clear where reporting ends and imagination begins." This is Safire at his best, although the typical reader of historical fiction may not want to deal with it, which is a shame. It would not overstate the case to say that the underbook makes reading the 974 pages of the novel worthwhile.

Mr. Safire is particularly fine in his attempt to salvage the reputation of the misunderstood General McClellan, and in taking issue with Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

McClellan was, Mr. Safire admits, a "petulant, arrogant, backbiting military man unappreciative of Lincoln's central idea." He is also "the Northern Anti-Lincoln, the force against which the Lincoln legend had to be built by [John] Nicolay and [John] Hay and their followers." But, Safire notes, and rightly, "George McClellan twice created and led the army that saved the Union, and at the end strengthened constitutional government by submitting without question to ultimate civilian authority; these were great deeds, and we need not revile the man in order to revere his adversary. Like Lincoln in the beginning, McClellan was among the majority of his countrymen who did not understand the urgency of rooting out the moral outrage of slavery. The President, for a complex set of reasons, saw the light in time; the general did not."

Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus during wartime is a larger question. Mr. Safire comes out strongly against it. "The argument that times were tough, and a few thousand dissenters clapped in jail were no big deal in the midst of insurrection, misses the point of democracy under stress: insofar as a nation departs from its guarantees of civil liberty, it is less of a democracy."

Mr. Safire concludes that the suspension was never really necessary, and was instead the product of panic: "The thousands of arbitrary arrests did not help Lincoln win the war, and may well have been counterproductive by aggravating resentment in the North."

And he writes, "Lincoln cannot be above criticism because he meant well, or because he freed the slaves while he was at the business of saving the Union, or he was lenient in applying his usurpation of the rights of the people. The purpose of hindsight is to draw a lesson. The lesson in this most extreme of cases is that it is never a proper time to ignore the Constitution in the name of saving the Constitution. To be tolerant of Lincoln's excesses is to encourage future abuses of power." Doubtless the author will have opportunities to expand on this topic in his *New York Times* columns; it is a fit subject for journalistic and historical commentary, but a touch heavy for successful fiction. □

PLAIN SPEAKING

Wayne Lutton

AIDS and the Education of Our Children: A Guide for Parents and Teachers, from the U.S. Department of Education (Consumer Information Center, Dept. ED, Pueblo, Colo. 81009, 28 pp., free)

SINCE AIDS emerged as a critical public-health issue, the strongest voices within the Reagan Administration for developing a sound AIDS policy have come not from the Public Health Service or the U.S. Surgeon General's office but from the Department of Education. Last May, for example, after President Reagan called for routine AIDS testing of inmates in federal prisons, patients in VA hospitals, and immigrants applying for residence visas, and urged states to test marriage-license applicants, it was Education Secretary Bennett, not Surgeon General Koop, who was most often found defending the President's position before the media.

The Department of Education recently released a handbook, *AIDS and the Education of Our Children*, that provides scientifically accurate information about the disease and places within a solid moral framework the discussion of how best to teach schoolchildren about AIDS. Written in a straightforward manner, the report is a most welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the subject.

The handbook has three sections. The first of these reviews what is currently known about AIDS; the second presents a framework for AIDS education; and the third lists additional sources of information about the disease.

Bennett's report does not conceal the fact that male homosexual intercourse is the most common means by which AIDS is transmitted, with intravenous drug use coming in second. Over half of reported AIDS cases, we are told, are concentrated in six metropolitan areas: New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, Miami, and Washington, D.C.

America's young people are especially at risk: over 60 per cent of reported cases of gonorrhea and syphilis are among people under 25 years old, and exposure to a venereal disease can be correlated with the incidence of AIDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

infection. Also, over half of all high-school seniors have used illegal drugs. An estimated twenty thousand teens have used drugs intravenously, and most adult IV drug users started with "soft" drugs, such as marijuana, during their teens.

The report warns that there is no cure or vaccine for AIDS. Indeed, largely because of the exceedingly high mutation rate of the AIDS virus—with multiple strains emerging in a single infected person—a growing number of medical researchers believe that the development of an effective vaccine is probably all but impossible. They point out that there is still no vaccine for the flu virus, which mutates at a much slower rate than the AIDS virus.

While AIDS is always fatal, Secretary Bennett emphasizes in his introduction that "The key fact young people (as well as adults) need to know is this: there is much they can do to avoid contracting AIDS. Most cases of AIDS result from behavior that can be avoided." This is in contrast to the "non-judgmental" school of thought, which demands that the public accept sodomy and heterosexual promiscuity as valid "lifestyles," and expects taxpayers to fund research that will come up with a medical "silver bullet" to save libertines from the consequences of their behavior.

In the second part of the handbook parents, schools, and the community at large are advised to help children develop clear standards of right and wrong: "Children should be taught the importance of self-discipline and personal responsibility by holding them accountable for their actions. . . . Parents and school personnel should teach children restraint as a standard to uphold and follow." Advice is offered on helping children resist social pressures that result in dangerous behavior. A discussion of "Condoms and AIDS" notes that "condoms can reduce, but by no means eliminate, the risk of contracting AIDS." Unlike the Surgeon General's report, the Education Department's booklet frankly advises that condoms have a 10 per cent failure rate in preventing pregnancy, and an "extraordinarily high" failure rate when used in homosexual activity. This section concludes with a discussion of laws concerning students and school personnel who have AIDS.

AIDS and the Education of Our Children is the most clearly presented source of basic information about AIDS currently available. Its underlying message—that AIDS is primarily a behavior-related disease—is one that must be recognized. The public is not powerless in the face of this lethal virus. But steps must be taken now—among them routine testing to find out who is carrying the virus and might be spreading it—to see that the AIDS epidemic is contained. □

DECLINE AND FALL

William R. Hawkins

The Pride and the Fall: The Dream and the Illusion of Britain as a Great Nation, by Correlli Barnett (Free Press, 384 pp., $22.95)

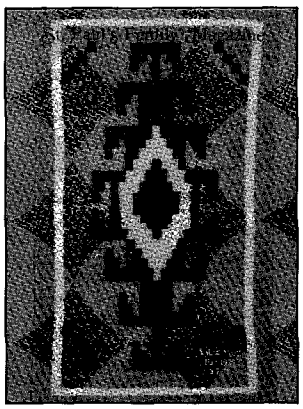
CORRELLI BARNETT earned his reputation as one of Britain's leading military historians with *The Desert Generals*, *The Swordbearers*, and *Britain and Her Army*. In *The Collapse of British Power*, he broadened his discussion of strategy beyond purely military dimensions, stating:

> . . . the power of the nation-state by no means consists only [in] its armed forces, but also its economic and technological resources; in the dexterity, foresight, and resolution with which its foreign policy is conducted; in the efficiency of its social and political organization. . . . strategy is conceived as encompassing all the factors relevant to preserving and extending the power of a human group in the face of rivalry from other human groups. From this standpoint . . . religion appears in a perhaps surprising light as a strategic factor of no less significance than first-line air strength.

Collapse focused on the period be-

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
"Beyond every horizon, there is something *different*"
—Nicola Paone
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239

This Christmas give your children a gift that they can open *four* times a year!



A quarterly magazine of Judeo-Christian culture for children ages 7 to 97.

(Gift notification cards sent.)

$13.95 for a one-year subscription:
St. Paul's Family Magazine
P.O. Box 772R, Ft. Scott, KS 66701
1-800-523-5562

Escape rows of writing desks,
slavish notetaking, lecture classes altogether. Meet 15 serious minds around a table. Probe a real question, read a real book. Wonder. Argue. Discover. We call it Liberal Education. We'd like to talk to you about it.

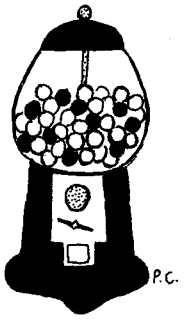
Call toll free:
1-800-634-9797
From Canada, call collect:
(805) 525-4417

Or write:
Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions
Box 105
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
10000 N. Ojai Rd., Santa Paula, CA 93060

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tween World Wars I and II. *The Pride and the Fall* continues the story through World War II and beyond. However, since Barnett believes that the seeds of England's twentieth-century decline were planted by nineteenth-century liberalism, his history actually spans more than 150 years. The primary research is prodigious, yet Barnett's style is quite readable. His work is not so much an academic narrative as a passionate warning against the dangers that face all nation-states that attain world power and wish to keep it.

The men who shaped Britain's destiny in the world wars had grown up breathing the air of Victorian liberalism, with its belief that "the evils besetting man could be banished by the creation of an ideal society founded on justice, virtue, and good feelings." The most powerful influence in the development of this creed was "the particular interpretation given to Christianity by the religious revival of the early nineteenth century," in which Christian love and charity were transformed into a "moralizing internationalism" and a quest for "social justice." Originally imported into politics by the Liberal Party, this framework was adopted by Labour, and it engendered a crusading spirit in the supporters of everything from disarmament to a national health service. Thus Barnett sees continuity rather than a break between classical and modern liberalism.



Economic liberalism was based on Britain's unique position as the first industrial nation. As pioneers, the small firms, backyard inventors, and self-taught "practical" men of that time were adequate because there was no organized competition as yet. But Barnett argues that by the late nineteenth century the *laissez-faire* economy was no longer realistic. The end of the American Civil War, the unification of Germany and of Italy, and the opening of Japan to international trade changed the world forever.

> All these nations were bent on becoming great industrial powers—all based their development on the thorough exploitation of science and technology and on a high degree of organization. . . . Thus after 1870 liberal economic doctrine itself was the most catastrophically inappropriate of all the outdated components of Britain's economic equipment. . . . British industry and its "practical" men were no more fit to meet this formidable attack than the British militia would have been to meet the Prussian army.

But Britain's policymakers were paralyzed. Prevailing opinion trusted the invisible hand to guarantee Britain's superiority, while dissenters questioned whether superiority still had any meaning in an enlightened world. Barnett laments that even the Conservatives, with their greater concern for security, never fully adopted the view that "a nation was a single strategic and commercial enterprise," and that the advancement of industry was a state interest.

The economic condition of Britain was only one of a number of factors discussed in *Collapse*, but it takes center stage in *The Pride and the Fall*. The "ruthless audit of war" should have revealed Britain's economic weakness to her leaders, but they learned the wrong lessons. England had already dropped from first to third in industrial power and had been unable to match Germany's war production. But rather than respond to the challenge of restoring Britain to her former position of strength, the liberals sought safety in disarmament treaties, the League of Nations, and appeasement. British education continued its bias against science, engineering, and business and vocational training. Thus by World War II the stagnant British economy was totally unequipped for the demands placed upon it; detailed chapters on the steel, coal, shipbuilding, and aircraft industries drive home this point.

Disarmament policies had denied Britain the standing forces needed to win a short war, while the nation's backward industrial base and weak finances could not sustain a long war of attrition. By March 1941, Britain was nearly bankrupt. Only Lend-Lease saved her. The flow of food, raw materials, and manufacturing equipment from the United States allowed Britain to produce far more than her own industrial capacity would have permitted.

This led to unfounded optimism about the prospects for Britain's postwar economy. The wartime coalition government included Labour ministers and liberal-left intellectuals. For them, "it was not a sufficient war aim to merely survive or eventually to restore the European balance of power." They demanded "a people's war for a people's peace." This meant a welfare state as a reward for wartime sacrifices. Had not wartime planning solved the problems of producing wealth? All that was left now was to distribute the wealth with "fair shares for all." Churchill found he could only fight a rearguard action against such ideas, and he lost the 1945 election to Labour.

The enormous sums proposed for new housing, health, and welfare programs exceeded the national savings rate. Capital was diverted from business investment by deficit spending, and a crushing tax burden was placed on the middle class. Those who argued for a "corporate strategy" of investment to modernize British industry for the long-term creation of wealth were swamped by public demands for immediate benefits. Britain thus fell further behind, dropping to 14th among the world's economies, with only North Sea oil preventing her from sinking lower yet. She was no longer able to afford the military might needed to maintain world-power status or even to defend herself.

Barnett's study should be required reading. He reminds us that success is never automatic. Nations fall as well as rise. And Britain's collapse should be of particular concern to all who place their faith in the "democratic capitalist" model. □

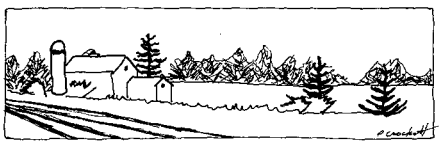
AN AGE OF TRANSITION

James Gardner

Pagans and Christians, by Robin Lane Fox (Knopf, 799 pp., $35)

AGES OF great transition, whether they represent the birth or the death of something dear to posterity, hold out an irresistible appeal to the historical imagination. Christianity's ascent from a small but enterprising offshoot of Judaism to a world religion is one of the great changes—some would say the single greatest change—in the history of the world. The age in which it arose is one to which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



historians have always turned avidly, and to which Robin Lane Fox now makes this signal contribution.

If Fox is not the first historian to bring the techniques of the French Annales school to bear upon this subject, he has certainly done so with a thoroughness and imagination that will not be soon surpassed. In keeping with the historiographic methods of Lucien Febvre and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Fox forgoes an orderly consideration of all the names and dates of his period, concentrating instead on entering into the minds of those human beings upon whom powerful changes were beginning to work. Previous historians have written exhaustively about the intellectual doctrines of early Christian thinkers; Fox is far more interested in the attitudes of peasants and merchants. Thus you will find here a thorough discussion, not of the heretical principles of Arius or Origen, but rather of Christian and pagan attitudes toward death, the state, marriage, and the weather. All of this is set forth in such detail as to induce in the reader a little of the awe that the later pagans must have felt sending down their anxious queries to the Sibyl in her grotto, or the early pilgrims pressing reverently upon the altars of their martyrs.

Pagans and Christians has enjoyed a commercial and popular success that its scholarship surely merits, but that its subject matter and tone would not have allowed one to predict. This may be because the title seems to promise all the colorful and gory pageantry dear to the sort of reader who fancies that, after the severity of Republican Rome, there followed four centuries of Neronian debauchery and a thousand years of barbaric superstition. I cannot doubt that not a small number of the purchasers of *Pagans and Christians*, cheerily awaiting scenes of gladiatorial combat, the march of buskined legions and the glint of the cuirass, will have progressed sluggishly through about three or four pages before surrendering to the sinking feeling that perhaps the book is not for them.

In fact, *Pagans and Christians* is a sober, sedate inquiry into the state of humanity during a period of transformation so slow as to be imperceptible except from a distance of centuries. In Fox's telling, there is little of the cataclysmic or the sensational. Humanity aged by ten generations in the time between the death of Christ and Constantine's establishment of Christianity as the leading religion of the Empire. During that interval human beings, pagan and Christian alike, continued to engage in their favorite and most successful activity, namely survival. This fact above all others interests Fox, as he depicts the men, women, and children of that time in all the minutiae of their private lives, glimpsed through the framing of their religious convictions.

From a technical point of view, one of the most intellectually rewarding features of *Pagans and Christians* is the author's mastery of the vast diapason of his sources, including everything from worm-eaten papyri and pottery shards to the satires of Julian and the tirades of Tertullian. His endless combing and recombing of the texts for any revelation about the hidden ways of daily life results in a fully fleshed-out, three-dimensional reconstruction of the early Christian era.

What *Pagans and Christians* could have used is a sturdier sense of structure. Although Fox does provide sufficient discussion of the process by which Christianity arose and paganism declined, this is generally so submerged in details of private life and parochial politics that one more or less has to come to the book with a fairly good general knowledge of the field. Now, it can easily be argued that other books on the subject, like Paul Johnson's very useful *History of Christianity*, have already provided the needed framework, while leaving out precisely what Fox supplies, a more intimate sense of the people of that time. Still, it would have helped had Fox approached his subject more directly, giving the reader a firm mooring in late-antique dates, doctrines, and personalities. *Pagans and Christians*, in a word, is for people who have already thought a good deal about early Christianity and are prepared to think about it some more. It is closer in this respect to the oracular utterances of the pagans than to Christian Scripture: it does not seek to provide any all-encompassing explanations. Rather, if you approach it with specific ques-

OXFORD '88

C.S. LEWIS SUMMER INSTITUTE

THE CHRISTIAN & THE CONTEMPORARY UNIVERSITY

July 3-16, 1988

Explore the relationship between Christian faith and the demands of contemporary university life.

Plan now to attend **Oxford '88** – study, worship and celebrate with an international faculty of Christian scholars and artists.

featuring

Lectures; Great Books Seminars; Study C.S. Lewis as Christian and Scholar; Master Classes in Theatre, Dance and the Visual Arts.

plus

High Tea; High Table; Tour of Oxford, Blenheim Castle & "The Kilns" (C.S. Lewis' home); an English Country Dance; Cricket, Croquet; Chamber Music & Readings; an evening at the Handel Festival . . . and more!

Limited Enrollment: 125 persons
Registration Fee: $50 (non-refundable)
Tuition: $250 per week
Room & Board: $300 per week
(2 sem. hrs. credit available through Seattle Pacific University, add $250.00).

For further information write or call:
Dr. J. Stanley Mattson, Director
Oxford '88
P.O. Box 8008
Redlands, CA 92374
(714) 798-5583

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, you will receive excellent, but specific, answers. □

FEMINISTS AGAINST WOMEN

Joseph Sobran

The Failure of Feminism, by Nicholas Davidson (Prometheus, 350 pp., $24.95)

THE MORNING'S *New York Times* carries a Quotation of the Day from a state-supreme-court judge: "Who among us is not familiar with the tattered, filthy, malodorous presence of the wretched homeless?" If he'd stopped there, it would have been fine. But of course he went on to the inevitable: "The blame and shame must attach to us, not them."

That's the attitude I call alienism, what Chesterton described as "the modern and morbid habit of always sacrificing the normal to the abnormal." It has many permutations, but its essence is the assumption that truth is counterintuitive—a notion we owe to Marx, Freud, modern physics, the cult of the inspired artist, Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Keynes, and many others, right down to Michael Harrington and R. D. Laing.

A recent version of it has been one strain of feminism, the apotheosis of the dyke. Various feminists have said that natural childbirth should be abolished, that all men are consciously conspiring to use the threat of rape to subjugate women, that intercourse is sick . . . you get my drift. In this world, common sense is known as "false consciousness."

Nicholas Davidson is forthright: his book is called *The Failure of Feminism*. He has a nice way of giving credit where credit is due—even feminists can be right sometimes—without truckling. But in general he carves away at the idiocies, insanities, and clichés of the movement: "Feminists were fond of telling men they felt 'threatened' (another buzzword) by the women's movement. No one bothered to point out that feeling threatened is a normal response when you are in fact being assaulted."

He can be quite funny, as in a passage I won't quote about ideologically correct obscenities. Suffice it to say that the ladies have had some dialectically subtle disputations about which four- or five-letter words for the male parts should be preferred.

"To structure a society without aggression," Davidson writes, "—a countercultural Grail that continues to lurk beneath most feminist thought—is a wholly unrealistic approach to the betterment of humanity that overlooks the most irreducible constant of social organization." He thinks that men should be aggressive and that women basically like it that way, and of course he's right, unless you define women as "the women's movement."

As he puts it: "With all their faults, if men didn't exist, women would invent them." Like the Thurber woman, he likes the idea of there being two sexes, and he assumes that all normal people do.

On the other hand, he favors abortion on demand—in the name of preserving the family! His arguments here are weak; he doesn't seem to see that everything he criticizes the Equal Rights Amendment for goes double for *Roe* v. *Wade*. But he blames feminism for giving legal abortion a bad name.

Apart from that, nearly everything Davidson says is sensible, as far as it goes, and I like a man who doesn't back down. But I think feminism belongs in a much larger context than he gives it. I see it as one more species of the genus Progressive Thought, the ladies' auxiliary of the Hive. In most respects it wasn't a rebellion at all: it fitted right into liberal and Marxist ideologies and took its place within the Establishment while the first bra was still smoldering.

The power of these ideologies is that they've managed to transmute themselves into etiquette. You can argue with a proposition, but not with a rule of conduct. Even the *New York Times*, as staid in demeanor as it is liberal in its assumptions, has finally adopted "Ms." On all the progressivist presumptions about history, feminism has to be a Coming Thing. And you can't turn back the clock.

Of course history isn't a clock. It's the record of a few skirmishes on the surface of nature, which abides, and can't be rushed or delayed. Why is it that Americans understand this less than anyone else? Davidson remarks: "You have only to go to a country as closely related to ours as France (or any other Latin country) to realize that women's relation to their femininity can be completely different from the tense uncertainty that prevails in America. French women face many of the same problems and pressures as American women, yet somehow this has not upset the ease they feel with the fact that they are women. The lack of envy most French women feel for men—the sense of a difference accepted, and thoroughly enjoyed—is far too rare in America at the present time." Feminism hasn't taught the French it's a sin to be feminine.

Nature does seem to be making a comeback these days, though not yet to the point where the *Times* would feel compelled to acknowledge its existence. Davidson recognizes this: "The Feminist Era is over," he says flatly, but he thinks the entrenched feminists in positions of cultural power will still wield long-term influence, in more or less the same way homosexual coteries manage to dominate certain industries. The celebration of masculinity remains at the Arnold Schwarzenegger level.

So Davidson thinks we have some fighting ahead of us. He even includes an appendix on how to counter feminist verbal tactics. It's very good, but it reminds me of all those women taking karate lessons. □

FILM

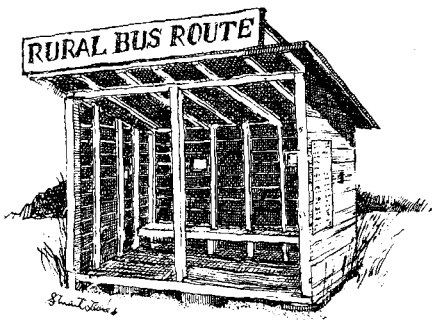
FOR YOUR EYES ONLY

John Simon

YEARS OF preparation went into *The Last Emperor*, a film Bernardo Bertolucci made largely on location in Peking's Forbidden City and elsewhere in China, with the collaboration of the government. It is about the life of Pu Yi, the last Chinese emperor, who, after a turbulent life of great ups and downs, ended up as an obscure "rehabilitated" convict tending his garden. Voltaire could not have asked for more. We, however, can.

Not visually, to be sure. Shot by the astounding perfectionist Vittorio Storaro, *The Last Emperor* is the last thing the art of cinematography, epic division, can offer the eye by way of a Lucullan feast without turning into a surfeit. No one in the audience, during the film's almost three hours, had to rush off to the vomitorium. Of course,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



the panoply of China as it switches from empire to Kuomintang to Communism, Pu Yi's confinement in the Forbidden City, his exile and reinstatement as puppet emperor of Manchuria by the Japanese, the ten years in a terrible prison, the interrogations, the Red Guards—these might be considered pushovers for cinematic exploitation, especially since Bertolucci was given permission to film in previously restricted areas.

The work that Vittorio Storaro has done, with the help of Ferdinando Scarfiotti's production design and James Acheson's costumes, creates a world of exotic beauty—almost a kind of visual eroticism—that we usually get only from science fiction, but *this* actually happened, was not made up by the movies. The one accidental virtue of Bertolucci's movie is that the almost century-long history it covers is handled so mundanely and superficially that it does not detract one whit from our contemplation of the gorgeousness of everything from architecture to furnishings, from costumes to the choreography of life, even the horrible beauty of some barbarous customs and practices. Too bad that the art is all used up on the background and trappings, leaving little more for the foreground than artifice.

Writing, to be sure, always gets shortchanged in epic films, as if the filmmakers' minds were not capacious enough to house both historical sweep and verbal finesse. The choice of a screenwriter is especially crucial where less has to stand in for more, and, in this case, Mark Peploe was not a happy one. Peploe, as far as I can make out, made it as a scenarist because his sister was Antonioni's girlfriend, and neither for Antonioni nor for Bertolucci has he come up with a screenplay that works.

Here we follow Pu Yi's career from babyhood to old age, but at no time do we get into the protagonist's inner life, let alone that of any other character. There is something random about his suicide attempt in the war criminals' compound when we first meet him, and most of his actions, as we go back over his story, teeter between those of a hamstrung reformer and those of an egoist capable of some feeling for others, but mostly indulging himself, with often catastrophic results. Peploe and Bertolucci, who collaborated on the screenplay, cannot even make the contradictions or ambivalences interesting; there is nothing about this protagonist and his entourage to compel one's involvement and care. So one just keeps enjoying the sights: *The Last Emperor* is like a set of splendid picture postcards whose text side can be ignored.

This does not mean that Bertolucci has no technique. Over the years, he has learned the vocabulary of film, which, for more and more people, is becoming easier to master than that of speech. Speech, indeed, is treated with such disrespect here that the kids playing Pu Yi at ages three and eight speak (or are dubbed into) perfect English, whereas the youth who plays him at 15, when he engaged a wise and doughty Scot, Reginald Johnston (R.J.), to be his tutor, speaks with a heavy Chinese accent. But graver than the confusion of accents, which fulgurates throughout this film with its more or less Oriental cast—except for Peter O'Toole as R.J., who eventually becomes a friend and political advisor—is the confusion of the moral point of view. The Japanese are bad to a man, but for the rest, who knows?

As in other films of his, Bertolucci loves to fool around with provocative sexual innuendoes that titillate without being integrated into the fabric of the whole. Thus the eight-year-old emperor is still being suckled by his stunning nurse (Jade Go), for which she is banished from the Forbidden City. How does this come to be and what does it mean? Eastern Jewel, a girl who went to school with Wan Yung, the empress, has become a Japanese agent and a pilot who can hardly wait to bomb her homeland, which she now passionately hates. When she meets up with the deposed and exiled imperial couple, she literally falls over backward for Pu Yi, who spurns her. But as he also neglects his wife, Jewel can turn her into an opium addict and, apparently, lesbian: we see her amorously sucking Wan Yung's toes. But such hatred and passions, real or fake, come out of nowhere and have no follow-through; we don't know what to make of them.

Important transitions are not forthcoming. A scene in which Pu Yi makes love, under a sheet, to both his wives at once is handled with tactful eroticism and humor, and makes polygyny seem fun. But Wife No. 2's discontent in exile is not led up to, and her departure, though opposed by

Call for any book

• Immediate shipment worldwide. • Credit cards or check. • Ask about our overnight gift delivery nationwide. • Free monthly New Title Forecast. • Mail orders welcome. • Open 24 hours every day. • Write or phone for free holiday catalog.

BOOK CALL

1-800-255-2665

In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470

59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

IT'S NEW IT'S FUN IT'S FRUSTRATING

"IT'S MORE FUN THAN MONOPOLY" — COL. RANDOLPH MUSTARD
"HISTORICALLY SOUND, BUT DIALECTICALLY DANGEROUS" —V. LENIN
"IT'S THE GIFT TO GIVE THIS YEAR" — S. CLAUS

RUSSIAN ROULETTE

(Русская Рулетка)

THE BOARD GAME THAT TAKES INSIDE THE KREMLIN AND LET'S YOU TRY TO GET INTO POWER WHILE STAYING OUT OF SIBERIA

SEND $20 AND $2.50 SHIPPING FOR EACH GAME TO:
THE OTHER LEADING BRAND COMPANY
BOX R - 6281 TUFTED MOSS
COLUMBIA, MARYLAND 21045

SORRY, NO CHARGES. MARYLAND RESIDENTS ADD $1 TAX. SAVE POSTAGE BY GETTING YOUR GAMES STORE TO CARRY IT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pu Yi, seems much too easy and painless. The power of the evil Japanese, Amakasu (played unsubtly by one of the film's three composers), over our hero is not scrutinized; like so many other things, it's just there. Various supporting characters remain similarly unfocused—often you cannot even identify them properly or figure out who ended up how. Not that I particularly cared.

John Lone, a wonderful actor on the New York stage, is unable to make a coherent character out of Pu Yi. Peter O'Toole has an easier time playing R.J., a kind of male Anna Leonowens from *Anna and the King of Siam*, and seems to have fun with it in his by now more than ever detached style of acting. The others, for the most part, do well enough with what they've got to do, which usually isn't much. From my press kit, I could not even figure out exactly who was who, though I took that, too, in my stride. Incidentally, it identified the oculist as "ocultist," confus-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

HERE IS a superb book: *The Arms Control Delusion* (Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 243 Kearny Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94108; $16.95), by Senator Malcolm Wallop and Angelo Codevilla. It is a triumph of research, synthesis, argumentation, and plain good writing by two men eminently qualified for the job. Senator Wallop, the Senior (Republican) Senator from Wyoming, served from 1977 to 1985 as either chairman or ranking minority member of the Senate subcommittee in charge of the U.S. intelligence budget, and from 1979 to the present as an official Senate observer of the arms-control talks between the United States and the Soviet Union; during the period 1979-1982 he was a chief sponsor of the anti-missile defense program that President Reagan discovered and announced to the world as the Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983. Angelo Codevilla, currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, has been a U.S. naval officer, senior staff member of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and a member of the President's transition teams for the State Department and the CIA. The American arms-control community, which in its glacial omniscience makes the New England Transcendentalists appear forthcoming by comparison, will no doubt either snootily ignore or disdainfully reject the book; which nevertheless is likely to have what the First Amendment gang would call a "chilling effect" in Washington circles where such arcane matters are discussed.

The Wallop-Codevilla thesis, as stated resoundingly in the Introduction and skillfully reinforced on nearly every page, is that the arms-control process is a solipsistic one, "something we do to ourselves, largely by ourselves. . . . The 'process' is our process, in which some among us restrain others among us, citing the necessity of dealing with the Soviets as yet one more reason for doing so. . . . The treaties are *our* treaties—'salient' for *us*, not for them. It is for us to explain to ourselves both the Soviets' activities and our own in terms of the treaties"—the Soviet Union being merely "there to help."

"This book," its authors insist, "is not primarily about Soviet treachery"; for the simple reason that the Soviets, for the most part, have not needed to resort to violations of the ABM, SALT I, and SALT II treaties in order to achieve their outright strategic superiority over the United States. All that has been necessary for them to do is to adhere, more or less, to the letter of the "law," while leaving it to the other side to agonize over its "spirit." This spirit is, paradoxically, at once the greatest concern of the arms-controllers, and the least: greatest, because of being for them an abstraction of the highest moral order; least, because, at any level below the abstract one (that of diplomacy, for instance), the question of intent is meaningless insofar as they have no tangible ends in mind beyond the parameters of "process" itself. "The incredible fact is that our arms-controllers chose not to have the treaties deal with arms themselves, but with visible, insubstantial symbols of arms—launchers instead of missiles, 'release maneuvers' instead of warheads, etc. They did this consciously, and just as consciously abstracted in their own minds from any political purpose or military strategy that either side might attach to its weapons. Tragically, therefore, they did not formulate treaty regimens reasonably designed to bring about a correlation of forces that, if employed, would produce results at least as tolerable for ourselves as for the Soviets. Moreover, there have never been plans for enforcing *any* controlling regimen in case the Soviets were found to have somehow circumvented any provision."

"Arms control," which was primarily understood by President Eisenhower as a crucial aspect of "budget control," fell prey in the early Sixties to that strand of wishful unreality that has woven its way through American democratic thought since the Age of Jackson, and to the demagoguery of politicians—i.e., "peacemakers" willing to "take chances for peace." The more the arms-controllers have failed in their efforts, the more the politicians have redoubled their "acts of faith"—faith in this instance being less, Wallop and Codevilla note wryly, like "the substance of things hoped for and the proof of things unseen" than like drug addiction. That addiction, originating among Robert McNamara and his Whiz Kids, was taken up by subsequent "conservative" Administrations, as well as by Democratic ones, with the avidity of a Wall Street broker discovering cocaine.

Wiser heads might reflect that, after all, a world without nuclear weapons is an impossibility: but who could be (in public anyway) against the dream? Every President since Kennedy has done his part to weaken America's strategic defense system, Ronald Reagan being no exception. "Too clever by far," Reagan tried to have it both ways—arms control and SDI—with the result that Gorbachev, by playing upon the "inherent contradictions" in the President's stance, at last got him where he wanted him at Reykjavik, where he sprung the trap: either play ball with us on "arms control," or admit to having been a hypocrite all along. The logic, taken within the rhetorical context of arms control, was unanswerable. □

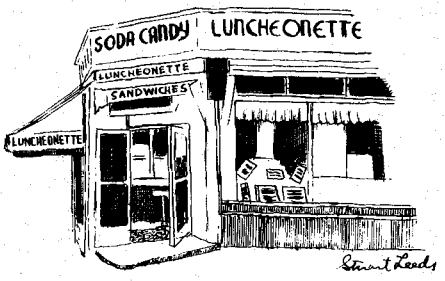
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing, it would seem, the visual with the visionary. That would appear to be the film's trouble, too.

I DELIBERATELY waited for part two of Claude Berri's diptych based on Marcel Pagnol's late, long novel, *L'Eau des collines*, to come out before doing my review. But whereas I had moderate use for the first movie, *Jean de Florette*, I have absolutely none for the second, *Manon of the Spring*, in which the hokiness that merely dogged the first film becomes all-encompassing. In the first part, we watched the noble hunchback, Jean, an ex-civil servant, take over some land in Provence and try to make his agriculture learned from books support him and his wife and daughter. But the rich and mean César Soubeyran, unmarried and childless, adopts his misshapen nephew, Ugolin, and wants him to inherit both the Soubeyrans' and Jean's land, especially since the latter has an all-important spring, which the two Soubeyrans cement over and thus hide from Jean, who is also abandoned by the xenophobic villagers.

Though Ugolin pretends to be friendly to the newcomers, César merely stalks them from behind trees. (Yves Montand stalks admirably.) After superhuman efforts, and no rain from heaven, Jean loses both his farm and his life. But Jean's little daughter, Manon, in a scene of surpassing improbability, sees the Soubeyrans unsealing the spring; in *Manon of the Spring*, as a beautiful young woman, she wreaks vengeance on the villagers by sealing off their main spring. Or is it the one from her father's former estate? Or are the two connected? And is it as easy to seal a spring as an envelope?

She also breaks the heart of poor, not-so-bad Ugolin (Daniel Auteuil) by refusing to marry him, even though the silly, smitten fellow—in a particularly nauseating scene—sews part of her hair ribbon to his nipple, which afterward festers. In the end, nasty old César finds out something from a blind woman that only the libretto of *Il trovatore* (which this rather resembles) can match for absurdity. The improbably beautiful Manon (Emmanuelle Béart) is the unlikeliest goatherd since the Brothers Grimm's heroines, and she ends up getting not only the similarly angelic young village schoolmaster but also the Soubeyran fortune, after César dies of no longer wanting



to live—just like that, by going to bed and not waking up in the morning.

The soundtrack features not *Il trovatore*, but the fate motif from *La forza del destino* transcribed for harmonica, and reduction of every kind is the order of the day. Gérard Depardieu as the hunchback, and Montand and Auteuil as the Soubeyrans, cannot be faulted, but, once again, the true protagonist of the two movies is the Provençal landscape, sublimely shot by Bruno Nuytten, as good with a camera as Van Gogh and Gauguin were with a brush. Claude Berri's direction is simplistic as ever. When you think of what Pagnol could do filming his own material in his great early movies, you do what Berri's films so desperately want to make us do but can't. You weep. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Clive Staples Lewis: A Dramatic Life, by William Griffin (Harper & Row, 544 pp., $24.95)

WILLIAM GRIFFIN'S method here is to serve up quotations (perhaps two-thirds of the book and almost always from Lewis himself) in snippets that range from a page or so to as little as a few lines, with almost no transitions. These entries are arranged chronologically, with each "chapter" corresponding to a year from Lewis's life. In the preface we are told (both coyly and presumptuously, as though this were a new genre) that these bits are supposed to flicker by at first, like images on celluloid, until gradually they "move smartly," and a richly textured, nearly complete, picture of Lewis emerges. Actually, the first third of the book flows more than it flickers, and there is a real chance of a figure "emerging"—perhaps the very next year. For one three-year stretch, around 1940, Lewis and his life do assume a shape. But it fades, and

THE NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS

Congratulations to our 1987 Winners

Fiction
LARRY HEINEMANN
Paco's Story
Farrar Straus & Giroux

Nonfiction
RICHARD RHODES
The Making of the Atomic Bomb
Simon & Schuster

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"next year" never arrives. This book was more assembled than written. Even so, motifs and figures occasionally do surface. There are Walter Adams, of the Cowley Fathers, the great spiritual advisor's own spiritual advisor, and Alec Ross, the very professional and good-humored man who, along with Walter Hooper, nursed Lewis at home during his final illness; the evacuated children who stayed with the Lewises during the blitz, and Father Peter Bide, first Lewis's pupil and later his wife's faith healer; there are deep and enduring friendships with women, and there is more of Mrs. Moore, Lewis's "adopted mother," than we have had previously. These attractions (largely deriving from the many quotations of previously unpublished matter) are substantially mitigated by serious gaps, misreadings, and a dubious editorial practice. For example, one of Lewis's best works, *The Abolition of Man*, is not even mentioned. Griffin does describe the Riddell Lectures, which would become the book, but his summary is exactly wrong. Whereas Griffin has Lewis claiming that values are subjective and emotions objective, Lewis, throughout his adult life, held the opposite. The so-called "Great War" between Lewis and his "other self," Owen Barfield, which went on for some ten years before Lewis's conversion and greatly influenced him for the rest of his life, is barely mentioned. When Lewis is gravely ill, his dear brother (and dearest friend), Warren, whom we know to be an alcoholic, is gone from the book. But was he, in fact, away—as we are told was the case on other occasions? Much more troubling is the dubious editorial practice. Griffin's notes run to thirty pages, but many of these citations are cryptic; the most maddening is "confidential interview, November 1982" as a reference for a remark in which Lewis mentions a "boy's ass." (Only Charles Williams and Lewis were present, and both were long dead by 1982.) Worse yet is the *lack* of citation. Nothing not buttressed by quotation is ever cited. Griffin simply adopts wholesale from other works, as when he describes "Fern-seed and Elephants" by expanding upon Walter Hooper's footnote in the book by that title. Sometimes, when a scene is described and a quotation is included, the quotation is cited, inviting the reader to infer that the scene is in the source, that it actually happened. But that is not always so. When describing Lewis's delivery of the sermon "Transposition," Griffin has Lewis falter, weep, and require assistance in order to conclude. There is no reference, and I cannot locate a source. Finally, there is Griffin's intrusive, euphuistic style. Occasionally he resorts to sheer nonsense, as in a sentence like "That he traduced scientists, Lewis claimed was inaccurate; what he seduced was scientism," or his use of *fulsome* to describe Lewis's mention of "dominical authority." 1988 will bring the 25th anniversary of Lewis's death and, surely, some good books by and about him. Save up, and wait.

JAMES COMO

Our Radiant World, by David W. Lillie (Iowa State University, 226 pp., $19.95)

FOR SOME anti-nuclear activists, the accident at Chernobyl that killed 31 people and injured more than two hundred others was something of a disappointment. Helen Caldicott, for example, was quoted in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* as saying, "I think the accident should have happened here.

I hate to say that as a physician, but unless there are thousands of American martyrs, nothing will be done." Well, Dr. Caldicott can dream all she wants. But most scientists, as we know from surveys by Robert Lichter and from reports by prestigious scientific bodies, think the chances of an American Chernobyl are pretty small. Unfortunately, it is the Caldicotts of the world who get media attention and not people like David W. Lillie, who tries to put the risks of nuclear power in perspective in *Our Radiant World*. A scientist at the General Electric Research Center for 25 years and with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for six years, Lillie details numerous sources of radioactivity, ranging from one's own body to nuclear weapons. Readers may be swamped early on by the physics of it. But it's worth the wade to get to Lillie's comments on the risks and benefits of radioactivity—particularly as they relate to ongoing controversies over nuclear power. An exhaustive three-year study directed by MIT professor Norman Rasmussen concluded in 1975 that a worst-case nuclear accident might cause, over several decades, up to fifty thousand deaths, about the number of deaths that occur in automobile accidents every year. But, the report continued, such an accident would probably occur only once in a million years. At that, Lillie points out, subsequent studies have criticized the Rasmussen report's casualty estimates as being too high. In some respects, says Lillie, pollution from coal-fired generating plants poses a greater hazard to human health than the "tiny, tiny" risks of nuclear power. (Such pollution causes up to ten thousand deaths every year, according to one study not cited in this book.) His point is not that we should abandon coal, but that it would be inconsistent to rule out cheap nuclear power for health reasons and then use coal. Lillie's book suffers somewhat from the fact that the bulk of it was written

Subscription Service

TO SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW

☐ New subscription
☐ Renewal

☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me
Initial here _____

☐ 1 year $36.00 (U.S.A.)
☐ 1 year $47.50, U.S. currency (Canada and all other foreign)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND RENEWAL

Please attach the mailing label from the front cover when writing about service or change of address. Allow 3 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MAIL TO: National Review, Readers Service, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

before Chernobyl, which he discusses only in the afterword. But the accident didn't really change his view or, as we have seen from the Lichter survey, that of most scientists regarding the safety of nuclear power. Given that long-range health problems resulting from the accident may be too small to be scientifically detectable—even with the incredible mistakes of the Chernobyl plant operators, the unstable plant design, and its lack of containment—there seems little reason why their view should change. KENNETH SMITH

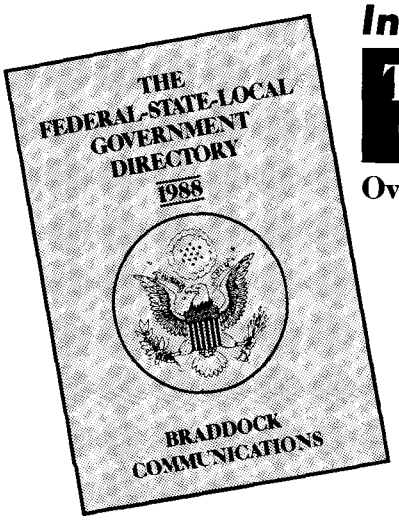
Economics in Perspective: A Critical History, by John Kenneth Galbraith (Houghton Mifflin, 324 pp., $19.95)

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH could not write without partisan lust, and would not strive to. In consequence the reader searching after disinterested reflections on the impact of historical circumstance on economic theory will be tempted to skip One More by JKG. This would be a mistake. Whatever in the book one elects to discard as tendentious (e.g., that the Greeks owned slaves did not remove Greek slaves—or slave owners—from market forces), or to question as dogmatically motivated (the jettisoning of Say's Law leaves a clutter all Galbraith's horses and men can't quite put right), one is free happily so to discard. But it is a mistake to forgo this exposure to Galbraith's wit and clarity. Even if the book were merely a series of paragraphs, separated by typographical dividers, wholly designed to explicate economic events and economic pseudo-events, economists and economists manqués, economic laws and economic fictions, and the difficulty in distinguishing between them, *Economics in Perspective* would be worth reading, and deploying permanently in one's reference library. Its thesis, reduced, is that there are no laws of economics, there are only economic mores, and they are expressions of historical circumstance; and if your intelligence inclines to the socialist perspective, you are intelligent. *Economics as Anthropology*, the book might have been entitled. Whatever, it is the most readable Galbraith since his *Ambassador's Journal*. The American Academy of Arts etc. correctly admitted him as a writer. The American Economic Association incorrectly crowned him as a technician. WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

GALLAGHER

(Continued from page 33)

Other pro-life conservatives are more optimistic. "We've cited *Roe* v. *Wade* without disapproval ourselves in briefs for the court if it will help us win the case," says one pro-life lobbyist. "That's just what lawyers do." The consensus among pro-lifers appears to be that Kennedy is a much better choice than Ginsburg. Though Kennedy has been tagged a moderate, his nomination was originally pushed by many strong conservatives in the legal community, including a bevy of his former law clerks, such as Judge Alex Kozinski and former Justice Department official Carolyn Kuhl. *Roe* v. *Wade* is, as Judge Bork said, unconstitutional, and there is a widespread feeling among conservatives that any judge committed to interpreting the text of



"Braddock's Directory is an indispensable tool for my colleagues and myself. We rely on it constantly."
Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
President,
The Heritage Foundation

"To be without Braddock's Directory would be like doing double-entry bookkeeping with roman numerals. The time saved in reaching public officials is pure gold."
Hugh Downs
Host, 20/20 (ABC)

Insider Information . . .

THE FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTORY

1988 CAMPAIGN EDITION

Over 800 pages of wide-ranging political information, including:

EXECUTIVE
- The Reagan White House
- Cabinet Secretaries (Pictures & Bios)
- Executive Departments
- Independent and Regulatory Agencies

LEGISLATIVE
- Senators and Representatives (Pictures & Bios)
- Congressional Committees and Subcommittees
- Congressional Offices

JUDICIAL
- The Supreme Court (Pictures & Bios)
- Federal District Courts

PRIVATE SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS
- National Political Parties
- Selected Media
- Political Think Tanks
- Professional & Trade Associations
- Public Policy Organizations

STATE GOVERNMENT
- Chief State Officials (Pictures & Bios)
- U.S. Congressional District Maps
- State Legislative Leadership and Staff

LOCAL GOVERNMENT
- Chief Officials of the Top 100 Cities
- Chief Officials of the Top 100 Counties

Send $51.95 (DC residents add 6% sales tax) to:
Braddock Communications, Inc., Suite 216—A
1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036
For more information or multiple orders, call (202) 296-1317.
ORDER YOUR COPY TODAY!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Constitution will vote to overturn it. "The choices on the short list ranged from good to very good," says one legal conservative. "The worst you could say about Kennedy is that he's good."

The head-scratching, Right and Left, prompted by Kennedy's nomination reflects the new political realities. Democrats have succeeded in politicizing the tone of the judicial process, but they haven't worked out the mechanical details. How do you determine the ideological reliability of a judge as soft-spoken as Kennedy? Judges aren't yet willing to campaign for office. The information gap is filled by rumor, innuendo, and group affiliation. So I listened to conservatives worry out loud that no candidate supported by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* could possibly be worth voting for, while Bork-bashers wondered what Kennedy-supporters like Senator Helms and Senator Hatch know that they haven't yet ferreted out. Lack of information has also led to the spectacle of innocence-by-association, wherein Kennedy gains from being known as Howard Baker's candidate and from having been a Ford (rather than a Reagan) appointee. It also probably doesn't hurt that he was never a featured speaker at a Federalist Society convention.

But the anti-Bork groups that have embraced Kennedy under the assumption that what's bad for Ed Meese can't be all bad may be in for a little surprise. Already some Hispanic groups claim to have noticed Kennedy is "insensitive" to ethnic discrimination, and Alan Dershowitz has denounced Kennedy as a judge who "reasons like Powell but votes like Bork." But it's probably too late for left-wing groups to change their minds on Kennedy even if they want to. Having designated the Bork nomination the litmus test of the decade, they can't very well threaten to sink Democrats who obediently opposed Bork and now want to vote for Kennedy. And the prevailing sentiment on Capitol Hill seems to be to put the battle behind and get on with business. As one pro-life lobbyist told me, "I think the senators, including Joe Biden, want to declare victory and call it a day." And thus concludes the strange tale of how one of the most conservative judges on the Ninth Circuit was declared an honorary liberal and in consequence will probably become the next Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. □

CHAREN

(Continued from page 36)

concluded that even when viewed "in the light least favorable to Ambassador Whittlesey" every expenditure had been proper.

The *Washington Times* gave the story on Mrs. Whittlesey's vindication the title "Justice Clears Whittlesey in Embassy Expense Probe." The *Washington Post* used the headline "Meese Rejects Special Counsel for Whittlesey," and the story implied that the attorney general had refused to discharge his legal responsibilities because Mrs. Whittlesey had once given him supper at the Bern embassy.

In December, Mrs. Whittlesey returned to Switzerland. In January, Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead announced that representational gift funds would not be allowed under new State Department rules, citing the "possible perception of impropriety." Score one for the bureaucrats.

Once the foreign-service vicars had won the policy battle, they backed off. But Democrats in Congress, the third leg in the strategic bullying triad, scented an opportunity to tarnish another Reaganite. Three months later, Mrs. Whittlesey was summoned back from Bern to answer a House subcommittee's questions on the gift fund and personnel practices. But the stated reason for the hearing formed only the loosest framework for an afternoon of free-floating innuendo that even strayed into Mrs. Whittlesey's knowledge of the Iran-Contra affair (none).

At the outset, the State Department's two most senior Foreign Service officers testified that Mrs. Whittlesey had been cleared of all wrongdoing. They also noted that the Bern embassy suffered neither unusual morale problems nor an unusual number of complaints. That pretty much wrapped up the substantive business of the subcommittee, but the hearing lasted for four hours.

When Jack Kemp and Arlen Specter testified on Mrs. Whittlesey's behalf, Dan Mica (D., Fla.), chairman of the subcommittee, complained that Mrs. Whittlesey had "politicized" the hearing. He was especially angry that some of his Cuban-American constituents (many of whom had come to admire Mrs. Whittlesey during her White House tenure) had phoned his office to express support. "I'm tempted to subpoena every person who called here," he thundered, creating a possible perception of arrogant abuse of power on the part of a congressman.

Another congressman asked Mrs. Whittlesey if it were true that she bore a grudge against the Foreign Service. No, she replied. But wasn't it true that she had asked applicants for the post of deputy chief of mission whether they supported SDI and aid to the Contras? Imagine, an ambassador trying to hire people who support the President's foreign policy!

Mrs. Whittlesey was challenged to answer charges raised in a report prepared by committee staff, which she had not been permitted to see before the hearing. Representative Peter Kostmayer (D., Pa.) demanded to know why one employee's tour of duty had been curtailed. She replied that it would be improper to discuss personnel decisions in open session—"We're talking about a man's career." But it was clearly *her* career that interested the Democrats that day.

They underestimated their intended victim. Only once, when Kostmayer lambasted her for resisting a public hearing, did Mrs. Whittlesey let the strain show: "I have been subjected to a campaign by leaks, accusations by anonymous sources," she countered. "While I am a reasonably good Christian, Mr. Kostmayer, I do not relish being led into the arena for the sport of others."

Fortunately, Ambassador Whittlesey survived. Her enemies keep missing her because they cannot aim that high.

Faith Whittlesey's experience gives a clear picture of the symbiotic relationship between the bureaucracy, Congress, and the media. The press had a field day, the bureaucrats won their internal dispute, and the congressional Democrats carried the headlines, if not the day. "Sunshine is the best disinfectant," Senator Daniel Inouye intones, but Congress has yet to receive a good spring cleaning. □

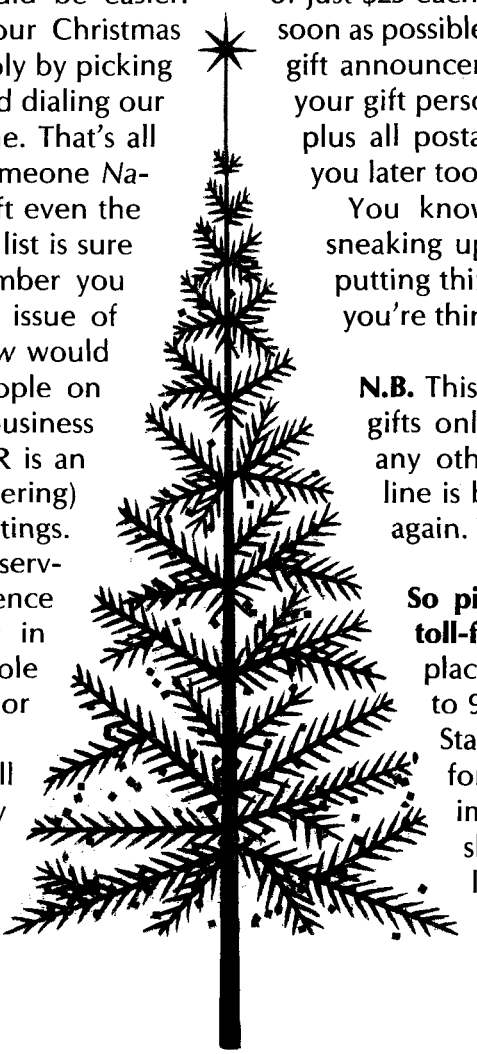
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now all you have to do to give NATIONAL REVIEW this Christmas is dial

800-341-1522
TOLL FREE

Really, nothing could be easier. This year solve your Christmas gift problems simply by picking up your phone and dialing our special gift hot line. That's all it takes to give someone *National Review* for Christmas—a gift even the hardest-to-please person on your list is sure to appreciate. And they'll remember you for it all year, every time a new issue of NR arrives. Surely *National Review* would make an ideal gift for many people on your list? For friends, relatives, business associates—certainly students—NR is an especially impressive (indeed, flattering) way to express your Holiday Greetings. And obviously this new dial-a-gift service is the quintessence of convenience (no wrapping, mailing, standing in line, etc.). You can handle the whole thing right from your own home or office.

So shop early and easily. Just call 800-341-1522, and order as many full-year gift subscriptions as you please at our special holiday price of just $25 each. We'll send the first NR issue as soon as possible, and we'll send you a handsome gift announcement card so you can announce your gift personally. (We'll also pay for the call plus all postage and handling, and we'll bill you later too—quite a bargain.)



You know the holidays have a way of sneaking up on you, so there's no point in putting things off. Give us a call now, while you're thinking about it? Many thanks.

N.B. This special number is for Christmas gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number. You can use it to place your order anytime from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Fridays till 5 p.m.) Eastern Standard time. All gifts just $25 each, for which we'll bill you later. The important thing is to do it now—shop early and often! (And an early Merry Christmas to you too.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE-LOVING IN THE G.O.P.

NEW YORK, NOV. 20

WHAT THE Democratic presidential candidates had in common in their first debate in Houston was hostility for the Contras and for SDI. This is ahistorical, since the Democrats were the great anti-isolationist political force of the twentieth century, at times Wilsonian in their appetite to move in and make the rest of the world more like ourselves. And it was Democratic leadership that gave us the key to nuclear physics and to a man on the moon. Now the Democrats are increasingly isolationist and Luddite.

The Republican candidates in Houston had in common, or very nearly so, an enthusiasm for what the state can accomplish. Listening to them there one waited in vain for the anti-statist rhetoric associated with Ronald Reagan and with the intellectual forces that led to the ascendancy of Reaganism. There was one bracing moment. It came when Pete du Pont (if George Bush persists in calling him "Pierre," du Pont should retaliate by calling Bush "Poppy") said that the emphasis being placed on peace was not entirely reconcilable with the biographical emphasis correctly placed on George Bush's record as a war hero. He did not have a chance to elaborate, but du Pont was saying that there had to be something more important than peace if George Bush was to be acclaimed, as he should be, for his role not in waging peace, but in waging war in pursuit of a certain kind of peace. The kind of peace, in modern times, for which the American people will settle is a peace that leaves us free of Soviet domination; free of totalitarianism.

The enthusiasm with which most of the Republican candidates regard the potential of government neglects the main axle of traditional conservative thought in America, which is anti-statist. Mencken may have gone too far when he wrote that the state is the enemy of all decent, industrious, and well-meaning men, but it was surely truer than not. The principal plague in the modern world is statist in origin.

Why is peace so desperately sought after? Because it is in jeopardy. What is it that jeopardizes the peace, if not statist control of scientific skills and military concentrations? John Dillinger was a threat to the peace, but in a pretty limited way. If he had lived a thousand years and continued to kill at his going rate, he would not have destroyed as many human beings as lost their lives on the day we landed on Iwo Jima to resist statist Japanese imperialism. We struggle, all of us, against poverty, but poverty is induced by state action everywhere, whether in Ethiopia by errant Marxism or in Mexico by statist greed and incompetence. Human beings struggle whole lifetimes to save money whose value is eliminated in a year or two by statist inflationary activity. In the U.S., statist control of public schooling causes the worst schools to survive, often at the expense of the better. State-enforced regulations imposed Jim Crow, and seek to impose ethnic discrimination via affirmative action. States seek to govern prices, to confiscate landlords' property, to define usury, to set minimum wages. We owe it to the state that we pay five times the world's market price for sugar, to the state that we are taxed $40 billion to maintain agricultural redundancies.

THE MAN next door may be a murderer, or he may run over our child while driving drunk, or he may steal from us or swindle, or he may infect us with a deadly disease or set fire to our house or rape our daughter. We are all sinners, as Congressman Kemp correctly pointed out, pre-empting the point from Pat Robertson.

But the sins of the individual are transmogrified when institutionalized in the state. And the agents of statist action have a way of going through life with relative impunity, whether former President Echeverría, mourning the impoverishment of the Mexican people from his multifarious palatial estates; or Adolf Hitler, paying for the ten million deaths needed to stop him with his own niggardly death. It is a pity that Hitler had only a single life to give for his country.

The Republicans should not sound like anarchists, nor think anarchy. But they shouldn't lightly abandon the most refreshing insight of postwar Republicanism, which acknowledges the insight of the earliest Democratic President. It was Thomas Jefferson who said that that government is best which governs least, and who reminded us that the government can only do something for the people, in proportion as it can do something to the people. □

PUNISH TOSHIBA?

NEW YORK, NOV. 23

JOHN LEHMAN, who was Secretary of the Navy when it all happened (1984-86) was asked, Did "Toshiba" know about it? By "Toshiba" most of the world means the Toshiba Corporation, 50.8 per cent owner of the Toshiba Machine Company. He said it did. But in response to the same question after investigations were conducted, Leonard Garment says flatly that such was not the case. "Toshiba" did not know that "TMC" (Toshiba Machine Company) was illegally selling to the Soviet Union technology of such huge importance as severely to jeopardize the security of our submarine fleet.

Leonard Garment is, to be sure, serving as counsel for Toshiba in the ruckus now going on, but Leonard Garment does not lie, not even on behalf of his clients; and he has asserted the guiltlessness of Toshiba most confidently. Moreover, the Japanese police conducted an investigation, as did the Japanese Ministry of Trade, and Toshiba designated a blue-ribbon panel of truth-seekers who will be guided by independent American counsel. Their joint mission: to ascertain whether, evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, anybody in Toshiba knew what was going on. And to find out how many people in TMC knew what was going on, and who they were.

None of these investigations has implicated Toshiba Corporation. The U.S. Government has concurred in these conclusions. The Corporation's punishment of the TMC wrongdoers has been severe. What exactly will be the punishment meted out by the Japanese government one does not know. But we should be reminded that since about the time General MacArthur left, the Japanese make their own laws; and, as a result of U.S.-Japanese discussions following the Toshiba (TMC) revelation, their penalties against a violation of the Export Code are now as severe as our own.

Which brings us to Senator Jake Garn, a highly respected Republican and anti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communist. He wants to throw the book at Toshiba. His position apparently is that a parent company is responsible for the activities of its subsidiary.

But, in the law, the burden is against such derivative responsibility. The Constitution specifically holds parents innocent of crimes committed by their progeny, and the Export Administration Act specifies that no sanctions can be imposed against the parent body of a subsidiary, provided it is established that said parent body is as innocent as Toshiba insists it is and will be proved to be by investigators.

Even so, Senator Garn wants to impose a breathtaking penalty on Toshiba. He has backed legislation that would ban Toshiba exports into the United States for a period of five years. At the going rate at which Toshiba does business here, that could amount to a $10-billion fine. To get the measure of the contemplated severity, if a U.S. exporter is found guilty of violating the Code, it is subject to a fine equal to five times the value of the illicit export. If a commensurate fine were imposed on Toshiba, the fine would come to $200 million: the value of the treacherous economic transaction was $40 million.

Now we need to be very careful about excesses on this order, and the reasons ought to be obvious. We have exporters in America who have sold sensitive stuff to the Soviet Union. I would gladly vote, if in Congress, to string such types up on a sour apple tree. But we don't even execute our traitors.

Now, to apply against Toshiba punishments we are not willing to apply against our own malefactors is to do an injustice first at the obvious level (Toshiba, unlike TMC, is presumed not guilty). It is also to be unjust at the level of disproportionality, and this begins to smell a little like Reconstruction-era justice against blacks. (If a white man rapes the girl, tell him he shouldn't do it. If a black man rapes the girl, lynch him.) It should not surprise us if the Japanese, however mortified by what TMC did, should deeply resent U.S. intervention of so draconian a degree.

But there is more there than xenophobia for the Japanese to suspect. We are talking about a major exporter, and everybody in Japan, as in the United States Congress, knows that there is resentment in America over the imbalance in our trade with Japan. Inevitably, Japanese who are satisfied that Toshiba is innocent are going to suspect that we have come up with a way to invoke protection without calling it a tariff.

And we would appear to be doing it to the wrong company. Toshiba is willingly at work to cooperate with the government on model legislation to fine-tune export control. And Toshiba has for years led the way in investing in America and in hiring U.S. labor and technicians. We should not punish Japanese malefactors by a miscarriage of justice against Japanese who are innocent; and, indirectly, punish Americans who would suffer from a boycott of Toshiba. □

PITCAIRN LIVES

PITCAIRN ISLAND, NOV. 16

In 1800, John Adams prepared to step down from the Presidency of the United States, having survived a mutiny against King George III. In 1800, another John Adams ascended to the unstructured Presidency of Pitcairn Island, as the last living survivor of a mutiny against William Bligh, captain of the *Bounty*, faithful, heroic, sadistic servant of George III. Pitcairn is regularly referred to as the remotest island in the world of insular notoriety. St. Helena, where Napoleon was sent off to rusticate, is a mere 1,200 miles from mainland Africa. Pitcairn is three thousand miles from Latin America to the east, three thousand miles from New Zealand to the west. South of Pitcairn is nothing—until you hit the Antarctic. John Adams arrived here in 1790, eight months after the mutiny headed by Fletcher Christian. They came from Tahiti: nine mutineers, six Tahitian men, 12 Tahitian women.

In those days, the King pursued insubordinate servants more vigorously than we pursue our traitors. Adams & Company came to Pitcairn because practically no one knew of its existence; because it was remote (25 degrees south latitude, 130 west longitude); deserted (no Polynesian was left); equable in temperature (think of northern Virginia); fertile (bananas, mangoes, pineapples); small (two square miles); and highly inaccessible except to friendly visitors (mounting an invasion of Bounty Bay might be compared to an amphibious operation up Niagara Falls). They came here and burned the *Bounty* to eliminate it from prying British eyes. Meanwhile, those of their companions who declined to leave Tahiti to go to Pitcairn were being brought back in irons for trial in London. Three were hanged, a half-dozen (including Franchot Tone), granted clemency because of ambiguous evidence. The point of those who went to Pitcairn was to get safely away until it all blew over.

Twenty-five years after the mutiny it did blow over, and the little colony at Pitcairn was told more or less officially that all was forgiven. At that point, after all, only John Adams was alive, his fellow mutineers having been, for the most part, murdered, during one of Pitcairn's unruly spells. But Mutiny-on-the-*Bounty* watchers were astonished when Pitcairners simply declined to evaporate. In 1831, the whole colony moved to Tahiti, thinking this a reasonable thing to do; but lo, in a matter of months, suffering from homesickness, they mostly returned. And then again in 1856, resolving that 158 Islanders threatened a population explosion that would overwhelm the resources of the little island, the entire colony packed off to Norfolk Island, north of New Zealand; but the same thing happened. After a couple of years, one-quarter of the Islanders returned. Their descendants populate Pitcairn today.

Whereas, during the heavy whaling days, boats stopped by every week or so at that southerly latitude, visitors are infrequent now. Supply boats come every three months or so; a half-dozen times a year, random passenger boats stop by. Barnaby Conrad, the writer and artist, wanted all his life to visit Pitcairn, but managed to coordinate passage only a year or two ago, spending a rapt couple of days here. On bidding an Islander who had befriended him good-bye, he said: "Maybe I'll see you next year."

"No," the Islander replied, sadly but fatefully. "People only come to Pitcairn once. Good-bye."

In the past few years, the primitive-lifers at Pitcairn have got themselves a dozen mountain-climbing motor scooters, greatly relieving the exchequer, because up until then there was only the single tax on firearms, and these are practically gone. And they have a generator which operates about six hours a day, and allows the Islanders to see the thirty-odd movies in the inventory stashed in the church (it is said that children know all the lines by heart). The average income is estimated at $70 per month, money got mostly from trading with passing boats, to which curios are sold (I own a *vicious*-looking wooden shark, which cost $7).

The Islanders are Seventh-Day Adventists, which means among other things that none of them will take a drink, except the ones to whom you offer a drink. The pastor, on two-year duty from New Zealand, says that attendance at religious services tends to diminish these days—"But isn't it so everywhere?" He is resigned today, Saturday, Pitcairn's Sabbath: services are delayed because too many of the Islanders, exercising a little self-indulgence, are plying their modest wares, so modestly priced, aboard the visiting *Sea Cloud*, before returning to the island for church services.

At high-tea time they are all back on board, four generations of Islanders. They spend three happy hours, communicating their cheer. And, after sunset, they board their longboat—80 per cent of Pitcairn's population—and sing out their happy/melancholy farewell songs.

"In the sweet by and by / In the beautiful land beyond the sky . . . / We shall part never more, when we meet / On the be-yoo-tee-fool shore . . ." □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

PROJECT DIRECTOR for growing conservative organization with over 15,000 supporters nationwide: experienced at writing news releases and/or conservative "action" articles, self-starter, issue-oriented, able to conceptualize. Capitol Hill or conservative-group experience essential. Send cover letter stating goals, objectives, and salary range to Administrative, Research & Management Services, Inc., Freedom Plaza, #NR 14018A Sullyfield Circle, Chantilly, Va. 22021.

AUTHOR: Book opportunity for conservative author. I supply the idea, but the book will be yours. Write John Howland, 1807 Glenview Road, Glenview, Ill. 60025.

Vacation

BE GUESTS in our remote lakeside home in the Arctic National Park in Alaska's Brooks Range. Hiking, rafting, canoeing, fishing, photography. To personalize your wilderness adventure, we host only 1–2 people at a time. Adventuresome senior citizens welcome. Hosts: university professor, teacher wife. NR Box 5081.

OCEAN VILLAGE on Hutchinson Island, southern Florida's finest east-coast resort community, in unspoiled, uncrowded Fort Pierce. Luxurious, spacious 2- and 3-bedroom oceanfront condominiums, golf, tennis, surf-fishing, heated pools, four-star restaurant, 20 miles of pristine, unspoiled beach, 45 minutes from Palm Beach International Airport, 90 minutes from Epcot/Disney World, $2,200–$2,900 per month. Contact owner, Box 15298, Asheville, N.C. 28813-0398, telephone 704-274-2764.

Literary

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NR, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

HAND-CALLIGRAPHED, limited-edition volume! Sonnets commemorating the Holy Father's travels by World of Poetry's "Golden Poet" award winner. *Pope of Peace* is a beautiful, meaningful keepsake, thoughtful gift. $19, including p&h, to B. J. Sachara, 1160 Third, Gilroy, Calif. 95020.

PUBLISHING AGENT WANTED. Published economist seeks help in finalizing and publishing (desk-top?) manuscript on new conservative-libertarian ideology. Full draft available. NR Box 5084.

FARTHEST EAST, by Lieutenant Gerald McMahon. Outstanding eyewitness action history of 71st Infantry Division in Patton's Third Army: Siegfried Line, assault of Danube, last land battle, meeting Russians in Austria. 152 pages, plus photos, charts: $12 postpaid. Yaderman Books, P.O. Box 333, LeRoy, N.Y. 14482.

CONSERVATIVE BOOKS: lists issued, free search service. CML Books, RR 1, #92, Elverson, Pa. 19520.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1178NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Send requests to 2035NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS featured in 400-item free catalogue. Includes mostly out-of-print books by such authors as Belloc, Stanlis, Kirk, Wills, Dawson. Sessions Book Sales, Dept. N, Box 9593, Birmingham, Ala. 35220.

Situations Wanted

RECENT MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY Law School graduate, law-review member with law-clerk experience, seeks entry-level position. Prefer Chicago or D.C. areas. Send for résumé, writing sample. NR Box 5060.

CONSERVATIVE MAN, 25, federal agent, State Department. Married. B.A. in history, Fairfield University. Seeks writing, research, or PR position. Conversant in world affairs, economics, computers, foreign language. NR Box 5077.

CONSERVATIVE WRITER, Ivy League graduate with public-policy, campaign, corporate public-relations experience. Seeks New York or Washington position. NR Box 5072.

MALE, 26, J.D. candidate ('88), seeking employment in Northeast. Open to any field, not just legal; skills include writing, editing, researching, acting, and good manners. NR Box 5066B.

Services

BUSINESS CONSULTANTS specializing in business planning, corporate strategies, economic models, econometrics, transportation, lobbying assistance in D.C. Write NR Box 5074.

WE FIND ANYTHING for $5. American Resources Network, 1406 N. Chicago, Arlington Heights, Ill. 60004.

MULTI-NATIONAL CONSULTANTS, INC., can increase your export sales. 35 years' international experience. Strong orientation in aviation and related products. Excellent military, government, and commercial contacts throughout free world. Telephone 214-956-1580. NR Box 5063B.

NEW-YORK-BASED ATTORNEYS—literate, competent, intelligent. Securities, investments, trials. Write NR Box 5019.

INVESTIGATIONS. Have computer, will travel. Discreet, sophisticated investigations. How much do you know about that proposed business partner, spouse? Sleep better. Background, witness location, accidents, estates. Fully licensed and bonded. David Barrett and Associates, 33 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003. 212-777-6085.

For Sale

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" plaque, $3.50; bumper-sticker, $1.50, 2 for $2.50. Wry Idea, P.O. Box 22408, San Diego, Calif. 92122.

OLD RADIO PROGRAMS on cassettes. Send for free list. Old Time Radio, 2000 N.W. Military, Suite 8, San Antonio, Tex. 78213.

MISSISSIPPI SMOKED QUAIL, the ultimate gourmet gift. Enjoy your holiday. Just send us your shopping list. We ship direct. Eight delicious entrees ready to heat and eat. $22 plus $3 shipping. VISA or MasterCard accepted. Call 800-647-2354, ext. 508. In Miss., 800-962-2309, ext. 508. Or write PQP Farms, Route 2, Box 209C, Mendenhall, Miss. 39114.

HAND-PAINTED ICONS, Romanesque-Gothic paintings. $1 for brochure. Studio Didymus, Box 481, River Forest, Ill. 60305.

STUFFED ELEPHANTS: various colors and patterns; handmade, 2'4" long × 16" tall. $75, postage paid. Beautiful gift. Limited number. 305-432-5624.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept classified political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements that are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

O. HENRY:

Purely American

There is one day that is ours. There is one day when all we Americans who are not self-made go back to the old home to eat slaeratus biscuits and marvel how much nearer to the porch the old pump looks than it used to . . . Thanksgiving Day . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

34' MARINE TRADER: 1976, 120-hp Lehman, Onan, 2 staterooms with heads and showers. All navigational equipment. Electric winch, refrigerator and freezer, radar range, television, loran, 2 VHF. Well-founded, good condition. Asking $48,500. NR Box 5078.

GOLLY, OLLIE! Here are all the participants in the Iran-Contra hearings in lively drawings by artist Ron Crawford. Large, beautiful, full-color poster. Historical. $12.50 plus $2.50 shipping. Harmony Graphics, Box 1946, Evanston, Ill. 60204.

PAINLESS GEOGRAPHY? Educate family and friends with these brightly colored, completely washable, custom laminated, professionally detailed, 11½" × 17½" placemat maps of the United States and the world. $3 each, any four for $10, plus $1.50 shipping. Guaranteed. M. Ruskin, Box 1215, Dept. NR3, New York, N.Y. 10268.

PRESERVE YOUR LIBERTY! Order Critical Endeavor, challenging game developed by man who recites Constitution from memory. 500 surprising question-and-answer cards help you understand what the Constitution says and doesn't say—knowledge critical to our preservation as a free nation. For gift-boxed game cards, rules of play, score pad, six Constitution booklets, send $20 to Critica, 408 Pearson Street, Wilson, N.C. 27893.

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE playing cards: families and CCD classes love them. Learn the basics of faith: 7 Sacraments, 10 Commandments, etc. $3.00 per deck. Also, *Health, Happiness, Humor, Holiness*, by Father William Armstrong, foreword by Cardinal John Krol, $5.95. Father Armstrong, 2300 South Washington, Tacoma, Wash. 98405.

Financial

FREE: *The Investor's Guide to Rare Coins*. How you can profit. Dr. Rich Woodbury, P.O. Box 55824, Seattle, Wash. 98155. 206-367-2318.

Real Estate

FIRST-CLASS OFFICE SPACE: 710 up to 34,000 sq. ft., economically attractive rates/concessions. Locations in Northern Virginia with easy access to D.C. Peter Marx, Charles E. Smith Management, Inc. 703-284-7698.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

COMPUTER PROGRAMMER, single, male, 33, 5'7", European origin, good-looking introvert, enjoys reading, travel, walking, swimming; seeks educated female, non-smoking, non-partying, principled, marriage-minded, with a deep, thoughtful, caring personality and traditional values. NR Box 5073.

TALL, ATTRACTIVE, ACTIVE physician in early 50s is avid cruising sailor and looking for permanent first mate. If you are non-smoker, 30–45, slender, pretty, and would enjoy sailing, country living, romance, travel, and the arts, please write Bruce Stewart, MD, 288 Applegate Road, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

SINGLE, WHITE MALE, Ivy League, Rotary, will be spending January through February in Florida area, Vero to Jupiter; summers in southern Maine. Enjoys music, art, literature, and travel. Would like to meet single, white female (age 50 to 60) who enjoys same, likes good conversation and perhaps a little tennis. No divorcées. NR Box 5083.

HEAD-TURNING, blue-eyed blonde, 25, 5'7", effervescent beauty. Intelligent, successful, very outgoing, and a hopeless romantic. Loves sports, pizza, and rainy Sunday afternoons. Seeks tall, extremely handsome gentleman with a taste for life, love, and laughter. NR Box 5080.

TERRY MICHAEL: Welcome back to the States. I've missed you, soldier. Drop by for a holiday hug soon; the "feathered ones" want to meet you. Love, Debra Elise. (*Now* may I have that blasted baseball cap?)

YOUNG, ATTRACTIVE FEMALE, 5'7", educated, traditional values. Interests: reading, music, cultural events, traveling. Seeks intelligent, confident, moral, witty male, 23–30. NR Box 5079.

UNMARRIED CATHOLICS, a special nationwide friendship organization, huge membership, unlimited choice, low cost. Sparks Services, Box 872-NR, Troy, N.Y. 12181.

HANDSOME PHYSICIAN enjoys art, nature, life. Seeks counterpart, any age, race. Willing to relocate. NR Box 5082.

MANHATTAN INVESTMENT BANKER, 27, Ivy League, 5'9", very bright, athletic, 150 lbs., loves the outdoors, running, tennis, sailing. Interests include old movies, Buddhism, commodity trading, rhythm and blues, sun-drenched beaches, deep relaxation. Seeks an attractive, secure, tall, intelligent woman, 23–27, who enjoys good conversation, is faithful, has her own interests, appreciates intimacy and romantic evenings. Photo preferred. Write NR Box 5075.

CATHOLIC ACADEMIC PHYSICIAN, Ivy League, former professional athlete, tall, handsome, bright, fit, intellectual, with interests in movies, books, and travel, 35 years old, seeks to meet attractive, caring, intelligent, and interesting lady who values warmth, good conversation, a spirit of fun, fidelity, and sharing the above with the right guy. Photo preferred. Write NR Box 5066A.

DIRECTORY for thinking singles. Loveline, Box 9524, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

BEAUTIFUL, INTELLIGENT, witty, petite blonde sculptor, middle-aged, seeks fit gentleman, non-Catholic, 40–55, who enjoys art, nature, hiking, tennis, cooking, dancing, travel, and reading, and who is sensitive and caring—preferably in the humanities. Photo requested. NR Box 5036.

Miscellaneous

FIND THE REAL YOU. Learn the identity of your immortal and true self through self-knowledge. Free and important information. Universal Publishing Company, Dept. 103, 5664 Corporate Way, West Palm Beach, Fla. 33407. Write now!

RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION starting liberal-arts college for 25–30 students, September 1988, seeks gift, temporary use with caretaking, or low rental of property or land in suburban or rural setting, preferably New England to North Carolina. Reply: Joel Foundation, Box 162, Boonton, N.J. 07005.

TASTY ENGLISH SCONE recipe, $3. Kentish Kitchen, 381-1275 Fourth Street, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95405.

STOP SMOKING—no more excuses. Even conservatives can quit! Send $3 for brief, sober report. LMZ & Co., 42 Grove Street, Salinas, Calif. 93901.

SERIOUS PRAYER MEETING of disaffected mainliners: evangelical, conservative, liturgical. Invites sincere Christians seeking holiness to join in prayer. Write 10175 S.W. Barbur Boulevard, Suite 108B, Portland, Ore. 97219. Or call 503-245-1727.

PASTORS' OR SCHOLARS' LIBRARIES wanted for seminary collection: contact Jim Dennison, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1725 Bear Valley Parkway, Escondido, Calif. 92027. 619-480-8474.

THIRTY-ONE DELICIOUS RECIPES from a Cape Breton farm, in two booklets with herb sample: $4. Gardner Farm, Orangedale, Nova Scotia, Canada.

SERIOUS BIBLE STUDY in Manhattan, Presbyterian-Reformed perspective. Tuesday evenings; also, Wall Street lunchtime study. Information: 718-332-4444.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Rates:
$1.00 per word
$2.25 for NR box number

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Liberal (hyph.)
98 31 178 108 125 21 143 42 93 10

B. Old Testament book
158 116 176 162 17 142 85

C. Football penalty
106 145 175 20 91 73 182 185 141 40

154 54

D. Seaport in northeastern Spain
77 173 4 72 48 18 59 111 168

E. City in northeastern Ohio
184 113 181 101 131 57 13 81 120 38

F. Convict's "rate of return"
41 66 152 177 52 163 187 132 89 16

G. GI's luggage (2 words)
161 170 80 167 74 64 39 6 134

H. West African nation
139 123 129 32 100 1 186 46 71 87

I. Caesar's interstate (2 words)
140 95 118 156 84 27 147 115 76

J. Policeman's "evening" gear
133 109 9 2 149 70 28 53 189 92

K. Orchestra member
55 146 119 157 35 171 107 67

L. Beliefs
51 63 24 188 75 180 102 150 8 34

M. Abu Nidal
105 30 122 44 153 135 62 14 90

N. Cosmetologist's aid
29 56 23 138 79 159 179 121 7

O. Big-top performers
33 47 130 110 68 19 144 172

P. Tunes
83 94 99 45 165 26 3 61

Q. Traveler's agenda
15 112 148 60 36 183 97 82 127

R. Twentieth-century American philosopher, by George
49 78 114 22 137 88 69 169 12

S. More saccharine
151 86 5 136 104 43 65

T. Winter-time stalactites
117 96 37 58 124 11 155

U. Certain green spots
166 103 128 160 25

V. Zola's Parisian *prostitute*
164 126 174 50

1 H	2 J	3 P	4 D	5 S		6 G	7 N	8 L		9 J	10 A	11 T	12 R	13 E		14 M	15 Q	16 F	17 B	18 D
19 O	20 C	21 A	22 R	23 N	24 L	25 U		26 P	27 I		28 J	29 N	30 M		31 A	32 H	33 O	34 L		35 K
36 Q	37 T	38 E	39 G	40 C	41 F	42 A	43 S	44 M		45 P	46 H	47 O	48 D		49 R	50 V	51 L	52 F		53 J
54 C		55 K	56 N	57 E		58 T	59 D	60 Q	61 P	62 M	63 L	64 G	65 S	66 F	67 K		68 O	69 R	70 J	71 H
72 D	73 C	74 G	75 L	76 I		77 D	78 R	79 N		80 G	81 E	82 Q	83 P		84 I	85 B	86 S	87 H	88 R	89 F
	90 M	91 C		92 J	93 A	94 P	95 I		96 T	97 Q	98 A	99 P	100H	101E	102L		103U	104S	105M	106C
107K	108A	109J	110O	111D		112Q	113E		114R	115I	116B	117T		118I	119K	120E	121N	122M		123H
124T	125A	126V	127Q	128U		129H	130O	131E	132F	133J	134G		135M	136S	137R	138N	139H	140I	141C	142B
143A	144O		145C	146K	147I		148Q	149J		150L	151S		152F	153M	154C	155T	156I	157K	158B	159N
160U	161G		162B	163F	164V	165P		166U	167G		168D		169R	170G	171K	172O	173D	174V	175C	176B
	177F	178A		179N	180L	181E		182C	183Q	184E		185C	186H	187F	188L	189J				

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM *is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring* each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SPACE STATION: WHAT WILL IT DO FOR US ON EARTH?

For more than three decades mankind has explored the mysteries of the universe from a vantage point in space. Now we're turning space into a practical place to work.

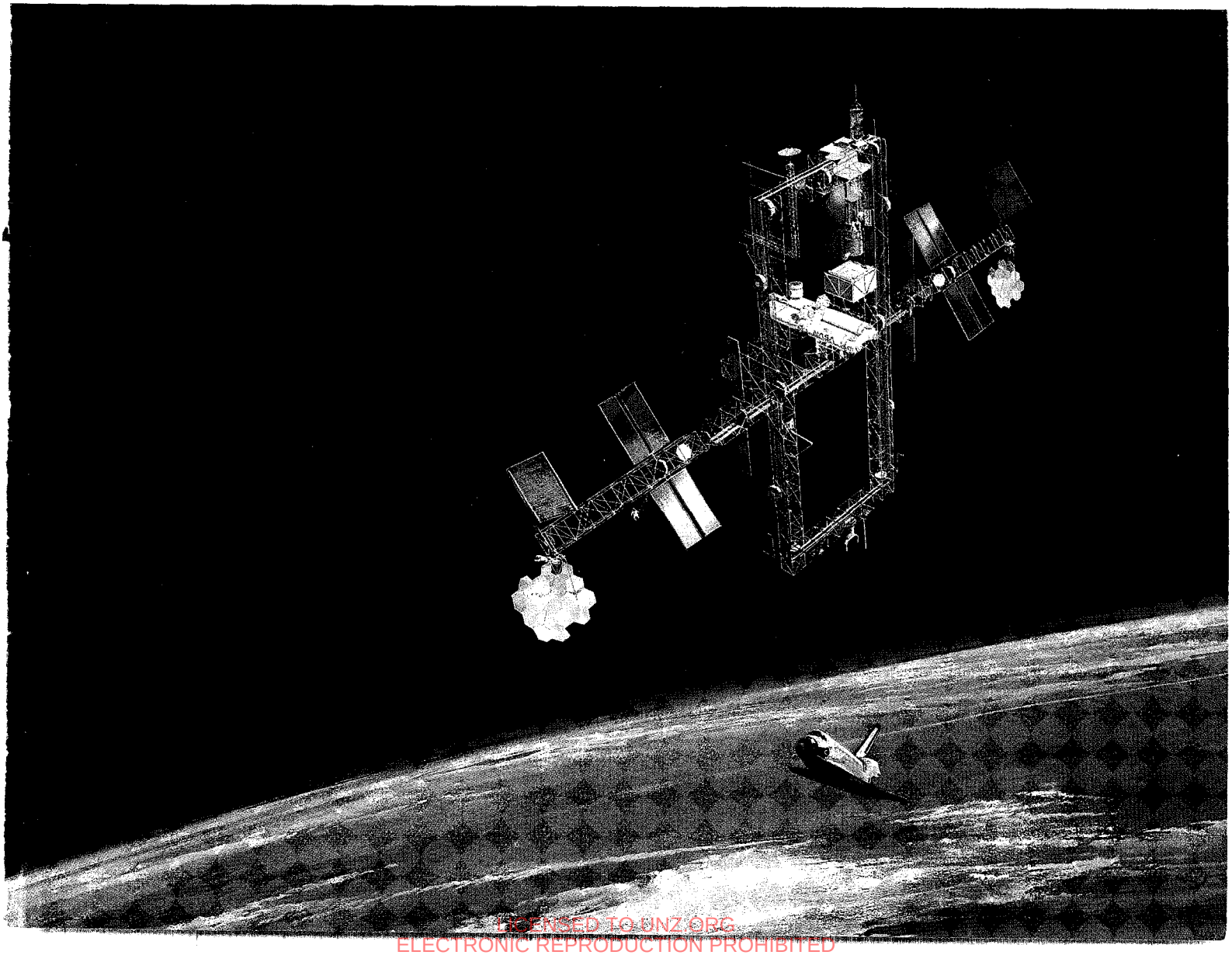
By the mid-1990s NASA's Space Station is scheduled to give science a permanent platform in orbit. A place where researchers can examine our world from a unique perspective and experiment under conditions of extreme temperature and weightlessness.

In zero gravity, compounds can react in ways not possible here on Earth. Scientists can create better medicines, more-durable plastics, and stronger alloys made of metals that resist mixing under gravity's pull. The Space Station also will give astronomers a manned observatory for long-term studies of the universe, while Earth scientists will gain a facility from which to better understand our planet.

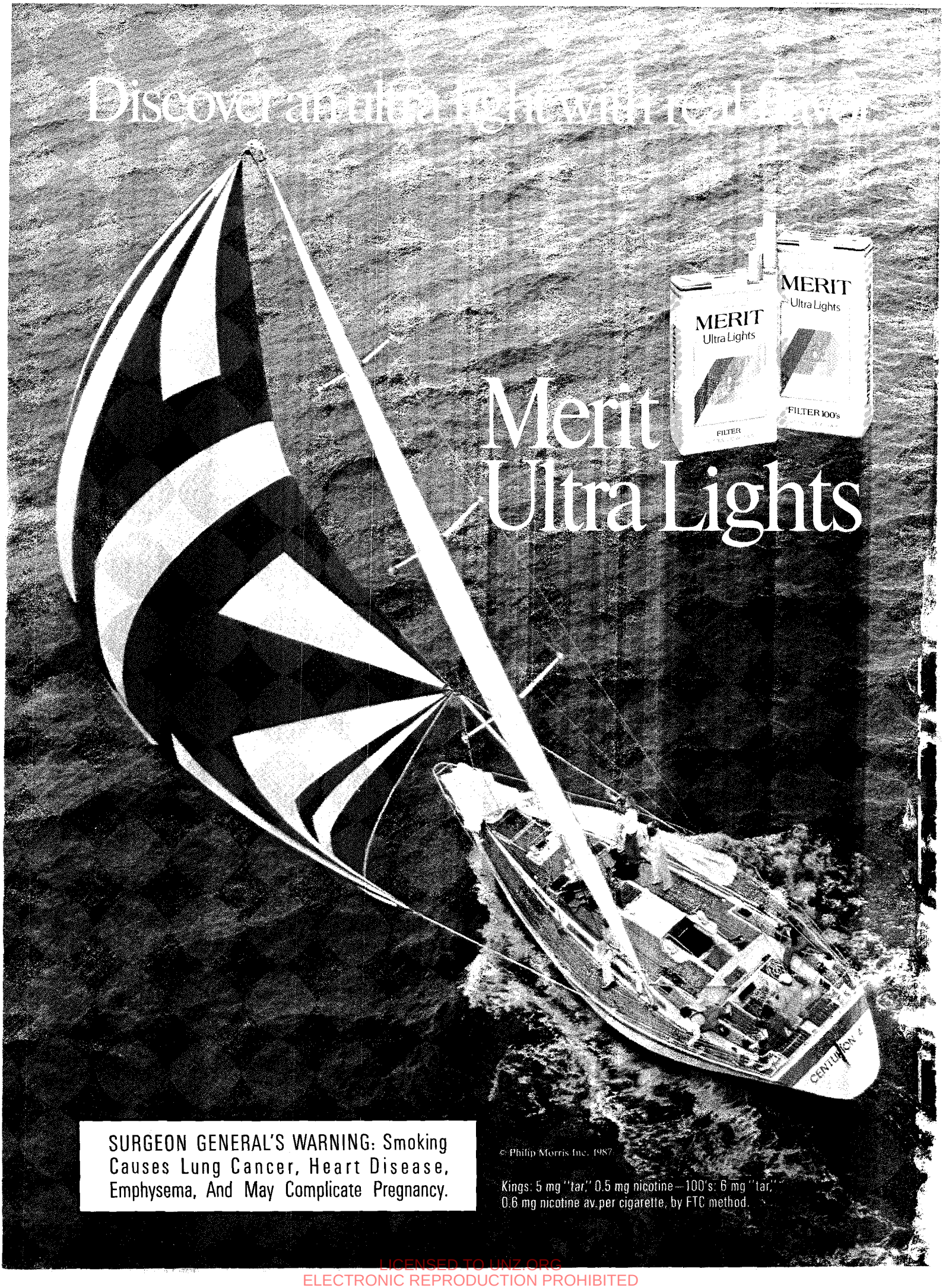
There are currently four major work packages in the Space Station's development. Lockheed is a key member of three. These packages are to become the foundation of a permanent presence in orbit that promises dramatic advances in our understanding of space and its usefulness to people on Earth. Drawing on decades of experience in countless areas of space science and technology, Lockheed is helping give mankind an invaluable tool with which to master this new frontier.

Lockheed

Giving shape to imagination.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Discover an ultra light with real taste.
MERIT
Ultra Lights
FILTER
MERIT
Ultra Lights
FILTER 100's
Merit
Ultra Lights
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.
© Philip Morris Inc. 1987
Kings: 5 mg "tar," 0.5 mg nicotine—100's: 6 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, by FTC method.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED